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PREFACE

We offer our apologies to the contributors and subscribers of the Dhruva Commemoration Volume whose patience we have sorely tried.

Our only plea is that we, who were as eager as they to offer our homage to the late Acharya through this Commemoration Volume, have not spared ourselves in our attempts to get the volume published earlier. The delay has been due entirely to the circumstances beyond our control. The disturbance in economic equilibrium caused by the war conditions in Ahmedabad made it impossible for our major printing presses to undertake this whole work and finish it in specified time. We tried at other places also but with no encouraging response. This made us almost despair of being able to publish all the learned matter that we had got from the admirers of the late Acharya. But as we have, at long, last been able to publish this volume we console ourselves with the adage 'better late than never'.

This uncertainty made us follow the plan of publishing the volume in three parts, the first containing non-English articles of personal reminiscences and learned subjects, the second containing articles in English of personal reminiscences and general subjects and the third containing articles in English on Indology. We hope that this arrangement will be found convenient by the reading public also.

A glance at the names of the writers will show in what high respect Acharya Dhruva was held by the learned scholars of the different parts of India.

We offer our sincere thanks to all these writers and others who have co-operated with us in paying this tribute to the sacred memory of Acharya Anandashankar Dhruva who will always live in the hearts of those who value profound learning vitalized by a fine sense of discrimination and catholicity of outlook. "His wisdom and calmness", in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, indeed "were great assets which adorned his learning."

Ahmedabad,
26th December, 1946

EDITORS,
Acharya Dhruva Commemoration Volume

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THE ROOT √VEN AND ITS VERB-FORMS IN THE ṚGVEDA

by

Dr. V. M. Apte, M.A., Ph. D. (Cantab.),

Professor of Sanskrit Literature, Deccan College Reseaich Institute,

Poona

[The following article on a Vedic subject is the writer's humble tribute to the beloved memory of the late Dr. Anandshankar Dhruva the gieat departed *Savant*, who inspite of the pressing claims on his time and energy, of social, educational and literary activity in the service of his country, found time to keep the torch of Vedic research burning brightly.

— V. M. Apte]

1. In the course of my Ṛgvedic studies, it struck me as rather odd that the meaning of the Avestan *vaēnaiti* (= he sees), doubtless[1] corresponding to the Vedic *venati*, should have so little influenced the account given by the majority of Vedic scholars, of the meanings of the root *ven* and its verb-forms in the Ṛgveda. The root *vaēna* (= Vedic *ven*) means 'to see, behold' etc. *always in Avesta and other Iranian languages, at all stages*, (one variant of it, being *durbīna* in modern Persian). Contrast this now with the following select but fairly representative views of the meaning of the root *ven* and its verb-forms which occur in the Ṛgveda about 20 times in all.

2. Pw[2] gives the following list of meanings: (1) to long for, yearn, desire in II. 25.6; 43.9. 86.8; IX. 97.22; X. 61.18; 64.2 and 123.6. (2) to be envious or jealous (of) in IV. 33.6; VIII. 49.7. (3) with

[1] Brugmann (Grundriss 2.876,972,979 §), Bartholomae (Altiranische Wörterbuch) and Johansson (Indo-Germanische Forschungen 25.233) among others accept the kinship of the Avestan *vaēnaiti* with the Vedic. (Alt-indisch) *Venati*—a relationship not disputed.

[2] PW.=Pelerstrurger Wörterbuch (Böhtlingk and Roth's larger Sanskrit Dictionary)

ánu; to seek to entice or attract; (4) with *vi*: to desert or turn away from, scornfully. And inspite of, or ignoring this scheme of definitions, it gives for *ávenant* in X. 27.16, the sense 'unconscious or insensible', although there is no trace of 'to be unconscious of' or 'to sense' among its meanings for √*ven*, as can be seen above!

3. Grassman in his Worterbuch zum Ṛgveda, gives very nearly the same scheme of definitions as in Pw., with a few variations, such as that, he explains √*ven* with *ánu* as = 'to turn after, to strive after' which is better than the corresponding definition in Pw. According to him √*ven* springs from √*van* through reduplication and means like the latter originally 'to aim at a thing, to turn towards it' and develops the two divergent shades of 'friendly or hostile aim or inclination'. Thus √*ven* means on the one hand 'to turn against some one' or 'to be jealous of', and on the other 'to be favourable to, to long for, love'. But his genesis of the root, accepted by Uhlenbeck (Ai. WB)[3] has not found favour with Walde-Pokorny[4] who deny the connection of √*ven* with √*van*! [To *ávenant* in X. 27. 16—a veritable stumbling-block for votaries of this view—, Grassman assigns the two meanings, 'not rejoicing', 'insensible' which have no connecting link at all. He evidently tried to reconcile the irreconcilable!]

4. Oldenberg, whose 'Noten' on the Rgveda are as searching as they are illuminating, has passed over the word in silence, thus half-consenting to the then dominant view! Muller (SBE. 32) makes a near hit when he translates *venaḥ* (1. 43.9 c) as, 'cherish (them)' but goes oft the mark when he renders *vénataḥ* in 1. 86 8d as 'supplient'. It is not necessary to multiply such instances It will be enough to state that *Benfey*, *Weber*, *Ludwig* and *Monier Williams* among others either follow the vogue set by Pw or raise no objection. *Geldner*[5] alone (followed later by *M. Lindenau*[6],

[3] Ai.Wb.=(Kurz gefasstes etymologisches) Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache. Amst. 1899

[4] *Alois Walde*—Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indo-germanischen Sprachen (herausgegeben und bearbeitet von *Julius Pokorny*)

[5] Der Ṛgveda in Auswahl 2 volumes: I Glossar, II Kommentar (1907-1909); (also see his) Der Ṛgveda Ubersetzt (1923)

[6] Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik I. 33

W. *Neisser*[7] and *Zimmerman*[8]) grasped the true significance of the close kinship of the word with its Avestan counterpart and proposed among others, the meanings : (1) *ausschauen* (look out for), *ausspähen* (spy out for), *achtgeben* (attend to) and (2) *innerlich schauen* (perceive inwardly), *nachdenken* (meditate on) etc. If Geldner had only followed this brilliant line with regard to all the √*ven*-passages in the ṚV., and not admitted (a concession to the prevalent view!) other meanings such as 'gluppen' (to look with an evil eye) for some of these passages, I would have been content to discuss in this paper a few stiff √*ven* passages only!

5. Who, however, really started this vogue (√*ven* = long for)? *It was not the Pw, but the Nirukta* (X 38)! Ironically enough *Roth* and *Böhtlingk* great opponents of the authority of Indian commentators themselves, took up and made current, Yāska's meaning among Indologists! *I do not deny that 'to long for, love', may be later developments of the primary meaning 'to see, look'. I only maintain that in the 20 √ven passages in the ṚV, which are subjected to close scrutiny in this paper, not even in one place is that meaning essential or even better than the meaning 'to see'!* Let us first discuss the origin of this erroneous vogue.

6. In the Nighaṇṭus, section II. 6 gives a list of 18 roots described as अष्टादश कान्तिकर्माणः (= These 18 have the sense of 'longing, love.') *venati*, figuring as the 4th in the series. The Nirukta X 38 derives *Vena* (the name of a deity of the middle region), as 'वेनः वेनतेः कान्तिकर्मणः' Sāyaṇa quotes or follows this explanation in all the 20 √*ven* passages in the ṚV, with a rigid consistency that almost carries conviction! This is the cue taken up by Pw and others. The fact has not been sufficiently appreciated that the Nighaṇṭus, elsewhere (II. 14) enumerate *Venati* as the 14th verb-form in a list of 120 roots classified as गतिकर्माणः (verbs of motion) and in III. 14 as the 42nd in a group of 44 roots indicated as अर्चतिकर्माणः. The strange part of it is that whereas it is the accepted principle of the Nirukta to propose as many derivations for a word as is possible when the etymology is in doubt, it concentrates only on one list of roots in the Nighaṇṭus (II. 6) for

[7] Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda I (1924) II (1930)

[8] Hymns from the Ṛgveda, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. 58

explaining *vená* and completely ignores the other two ! The inference is that either the Nirukta was sure of its derivation or that there was a deviation from the practice of exhausting all possibilities. This *single* derivation of the Niiukta has dominated all later accounts of the semantic history of the root √*ven* given by Indologists. Other Indian authorities with the exception of Sāyana, as noted above, to which we now turn, lend no countenance to this कान्तिकर्मत्व of the root √*ven*.

7. In the Dhātupāṭha I. 902 [(or 21.13) p 501 of the Nirnayasāgara edition of the Siddhānta-Kaumudī] we have वेणृ गतिज्ञानचिन्तानिशामनवादित्रग्रहणेषु । This root √*veṇ* is the same as our √*ven* (see the Sanskrit-English Dictionaries of Monier Williams and V. S. Apte). Apte's Dictionary which apparently follows the Dhātupāṭha as well as the Nighaṇṭus, gives the following list of meanings for √*ven* : (1) to go, move; (2) to know, recognise, perceive; (3) to reflect, consider; (4) to take; (5) to play on an instrument; (6) to see; (7) to praise, worship. [I have underlined the meanings given under (2), (3) and (6) because it is the purpose of this paper to establish that in the ṚV., the root has just these meanings and none other, the order of development being, (6), (2), (3). It is noteworthy that Apte's Dictionary omits the meaning 'to long for' (or its कान्तिकर्मत्व) probably following the Dhātupāṭha. Thus the Dhātupāṭha makes nothing of (actually ignores) the कान्तिकर्मत्व of the root on which alone the Nirukta concentrates but gives a place to the गतिकर्मत्व (directly) and to the अर्चतिकर्मत्व (indirectly in its—' चिन्तानिशामन ') of the Nighaṇṭus (II. 14 ; III. 14).

8. Turning next to the *Uṇādi-sūtras* for an approach to the meaning of the root, though the noun *Vená which is at least hinted* at, as a nominal derivative, from the root √*ven* by the ṚV. passage X. 64 2^b (*vénantı venā'ḥ*), unless the phrase is an instance of a stylistic trick employed by the ṚV. poet, just for its alliterative sound effect, we have in III. 6 : धापॄवस्यज्यतिभ्यो नः ॥ = " The suffix *na* is applied to √*aj*, [which is transformed into √*vī* (' अजेर्वीभावः ' Ujjvaladatta's commentary)] which gives us *venáḥ* (= ' Prajāpati ', Ujjvaladatta) ". Now √*aj* is a verb of motion (' अज गतौ ' ibid). So the *Uṇādi Sūtras* do not follow the Nirukta in its derivation of the noun *vená* from the root √*ven* (meaning, ' to long for ') but derives it from √*vī*

to go. This explanation of *vená* as a derivative with the न suffix and the inclusion by the Nighaṇṭus (II. 14) of √*ven* among verbs of motion, are in a way, points of contact with the efforts of scholars in the field of Indo-European linguistics, into which we shall now make a short excursion.

9. Walde-Pokorny[4] assign the Vedic (Old Indian) *venati* (to which they assign the sense ' he longs for ') to the Indo-European base Uei—(with the formative suffix *na*) , meaning ' to set about anything ' ; which sense leads, on one side to ' to go, take the right direction ' and on the other side to ' to strive for, overtake, *long for, desire.*' They are afraid that because of the Avestan *vaēnaiti*, Vedic *venati* might be construed as ' to *look* longingly after (something) '. In their opinion, however, *veti* in the sense ' he takes kindly to, inclines to ' can render the adjustment of the IE. base to the meaning ' longs for ' of *venati* possible. The Avestan *Vaēnaiti* definitely meaning ' he sees ' is not classified by them under any IE. base ! Hence this explanation of theirs ! In my opinion, the whole difficulty will be solved, if philologists cease to regard the sense ' to see, to look ' as so utterly incongruous with the sense ' to go, to set about a thing, to move ' that any possibility of a root having the former sense being assigned to an IE. base having the latter sense, is ruled out ! Verbs of movement deserve to be more carefully studied [9], in order to find out whether in the course of their semantic-evolution, they are not capable when used figuratively of evolving among other shades of meaning, one bordering on ' seeing, behold-

[9] There is an excellent monograph by Klara H. Collitz on ' verbs of motion in their semantic divergence ' among the Language Monographs (published by the Linguistic Society of America) 1931. It is shown therein that verbs of motion, when used figuratively can acquire the signification of propriety, fitness, suitability or related meanings and that expressions regarding propriety etc. are as a rule connected with verbs of motion. This fact holds good not only for German, English and French but for Indo-European languages in general ; the examples in the monograph mentioned above, are taken principally from German and English and some have been added from other languages such as Greek, Latin, French, Italian and Spanish. My suggestion is that linguists should take up this line of investigation with special reference to Sanskrit (Vedic and Classical).

ing' *particularly in view of the Indian theory of visual perception according to which the organ of sight* is supposed to go out to meet the (external) object of sight. I suggest for consideration the Sanskrit words '*netra*' and '*nayana*' for eyes, both being derived from *nī* a verb of motion. The interesting fact may also be noted in this connection that the word *ṛsi* derived from *ṛṣ* (*arṣ*) = to rush is, in the established sense of 'singer, poet, seer' sought to be derived by a late etymology, as दर्शनाद् ऋषिः (a *ṛsi* is so called because *he sees*).

10 After this necessarily brief survey of the views held regarding the significance of our root and its earliest origins and kinship in the Indo-European family of languages, I proceed to state my own proposition which may be first negatively presented as follows:—In all the 20 passages, in the Ṛgveda, wherein verb-forms of the root √*ven* are used, *it is not at all necessary to attach to it anywhere*, the sense 'to long for, love' or the opposite one 'to be envious of, to turn against (someone)'. I am far from denying that the sense 'to long for' or 'to seek' is a possible stage of evolution in the semantic history of a root meaning 'to see' (which in agreement with Geldner, I hold as the primary one of √ *ven.*) [Compare the Latin Sagis=I perceive for 'to seek'.] All I maintain *is that so far as the Ṛgveda is concerned, that stage need not be necessarily presupposed.*

11. Now for the *positive* statement of my proposition:—

(1) Like its Avestan counterpart, the root √*ven*, means *primarily* 'to see, (*in a physical sense*), look, behold, view, observe, watch; to perceive or to be conscious of (*in a physical sense*).'

(2) Secondarily it means 'to see (*with the mind's eye*), to sense, to attend, regard, ponder over, meditate upon, *consider* (compare the Latin Considerare =to view attentively). In this connection, I would draw attention to the fact that मन्यते (he thinks or considers) figures as the 13th verb-form in the list of 18 roots styled as कान्तिकर्माणः in the Nighaṇṭus (II. 6) and as the 38th, in the group of 44 roots styled as अर्चतिकर्माणः in the Nighaṇṭus (III.14). In this secondary sense, वेनन् मनः (the seeing mind) or mental insight is found associated in the RV. with the act of physical sight which latter either *follows* the former as in हृदा वेनन्तो अभ्यचक्षत त्वा। X.123.6[b]

(which is discussed below), or precedes it as in अवेनन्त्वष्टा चतुरं ददृश्वान् (IV.33.6[d]) and culminates into speech as in मनसो वेनतो वाक् IX 97.22[b] or in IV.18.11[ab], where अन्ववेनत् is followed by a *speech* addressed by the Mother to her son Indra. [Although I am writing a separate paper on the word *Vená* (the noun), which is the traditional deity of RV. hymn X.123 and which (word) is used as epithet of other deities such as Indra, Soma and Brhaspati, and will discuss fully, there the question whether *Vená* is derived from the root √ *ven* or √ *vī* or both (as suggested by me in para 9, I may mention here the relevant fact that in the RV, *Vená* in the plural i. e. *Venāḥ* (Maruts or poet-priets ?) are associated with the act of praising (*anūsata* in IX.64 21), poetic activity (*avīvipan* IX.73.2 cf. the word *Vipra*) and with speech (*girah* IX.85.11).]

The course of semantic evolution outlined here is exactly parallel to that of the Vedic root '*spaś, paś*' = to see or to that of the roots '*dṛś, cakṣ*' (= to see) 'khyā' and 'cit' (to perceive).

12. I now discuss the twenty Rgvedic passages employing verb-forms of the root √*ven* dividing them into the two classes or stages outlined above (para 11). This *division* cannot but be subjective but that does not in the least, affect in my view, *the main issue, namely that the meaning 'to long for, love, desire'* is by no means necessary in the Rgveda.

I

Passages in which the first meaning 'to see (in a physical sense), look, behold, view, observe, watch, perceive, or to be conscious of (in a physical sense)' is suitable and adequate.

दशानामेकं कपिलं समानं तं हिन्वन्ति क्रतवे पार्याय ।
गर्भं माता सुधितं वक्षणास्ववेनन्तं तुषयन्ती बिभर्ति ॥

X. 27. 16

Trans :—One of the ten, tawny, similar [(to the rest) or held in common with the rest], him they impel for the conclusive (trial of) strength. The mother bears the fœtus, well-laid within the womb, soothing (it) the *unconscious one.*

Notes:—*This passage is the most conclusive evidence of my view* that √*ven* originally means 'to see in a physical sense' and secondarily 'to see mentally, consider to be conscious of' etc. No scholar who takes it to mean 'to long for,' 'to be envious', 'to turn (favourably) to', 'to turn against (someone)' can explain *ávenant* here satisfactorily and at the same time consistently. Pw explain it as 'bewusstlos' (unconscious, insensible) which is quite right in itself but does not fit in with their meaning of √*ven*. Grassman, aware of (and probably anticipating) this objection tries to bridge over the gap by proposing two meanings for *á-venant* 'sich nicht freuend' and 'empfundunglos' but one fails to see how 'not rejoicing, not feeling pleasure in' can lead to 'insensible' or how even 'not rejoicing' follows from this root-meaning 'to long for'. So this passage definitely establishes the connection of our root with the Avestan *vaēnaiti*. At any rate √*ven* here must mean 'to see physically, or to see mentally, to perceive, to be sensible, or conscious'.etc. [In fact, to my mind, the *gárbha* here is the *Kumārá* of X. 135.3-5, whose birth is there referred to in v.5. In v.3 the *Kumāra* is described as ushering himself into the world on a wheel-less chariot, *unseeing* (*ápaśyan*). This *ápaśyan* is, in my view, an exact paraphrase of our '*ávenant*'. This same *Kumāra* (or *garbha*) is referred to in V.78.8 where the *Kumāra* is described as 'lying in his mother's side for *ten months* (*dáśa Mā'sān*). It is my opinion (which need not be pressed here as in anyway connected with my main proposition in this paper) that the epithet *dáśamāsya* applied to the *Kumāra* in V.78.7–8 and the *dáśa Māsáḥ* in V. 45.7,11 have something to do with our (a). The *gárbha* may well be Dīrghatamas that grew old in the tenth month (I. 158. 6). For want of sufficient evidence we are unable yet to accept the bold theory proposed by Tilak in his 'The Arctic Home in the Vedas' that these ten months were those during which the Sun shone in the original Aryan lands between the Arctic circle and the North Pole (pp.322-6 and 342-44). According to this theory 'the one among the ten, the tawny and similar one' of our verse, would be the Sun in the

tenth month of Sunshine. Oldenberg proposes either Soma or Agni preferably the latter, as the *garbha*. No decisive opinion can be expressed in the matter here nor is it necessary for my limited purpose in this paper.

यास्ते प्रजा अमृतस्य परस्मिन्धामन्नृतस्य ।

मूर्धा नाभा सोम वेन आभूषन्तीः सोम वेदः ॥

I. 43. 9

Trans :—Those thine children of immortality [or 'those children of thee, the Immortal] (*i.e* the gods) who (are) in the highest abode of *ṛta*, as (their) head, *behold* (them), O Soma, (stationed as thou art) on the navel ; know them as preparing (themselves for thee), O Soma !

Notes .—(c) and (d) It is a natural expectation here that *venaḥ* (Inj.) and *vedaḥ* (Subj.) should be mutually distinguishable and complementary. 'Behold them and know them' is, therefore, a more suitable rendering than 'long for them and know them (longing for a person or object follows rather than precedes the knowledge thereof). *Nā'bhā* (loc.) is to be taken, in my view, as 'the navel (of heaven)' to consist with (b). 'Heaven', however, is frequently in the ṚV., a mystical name of the strainer, of sheep's wool ; cf. IX. 37.3 : *divó* n'abhā. . *dvyo vā're*=on the navel of heaven, on the sheep-filter (is the far-seeing Soma being praised). Thus, by means of this beautifully vague word, the poet achieves at one stroke, the double purpose of addressing the Soma present on the spot (on the strainer) and referring to his simultaneous supervision of the gods in heaven.

तदित्समानमाशाते वेनन्ता न प्रयुच्छतः ।

धृतव्रताय दाशुषे ॥ I. 25. 6

Trans.:—(a) That (*Kṣatrám*) verily, the Two (Mitra and Varuṇa) share in common ; (b and c) the *Observant ones* (*vénantā*) do not fail the worshipper *of* the *dhṛtavrata* (Varuṇa).

Notes :—(b) The sense 'Observant, watchful, attentive' alone suits *vénantā* here; the emphasis on the never failing character of response should make the trait of *watchfulness* more prominent than that of 'love or longing'. In any case, my meaning of √*ven* is at least as suitable as the generally accepted one of 'longing'. [(a) I agree with Geldner in referring *tát* back to *Ksatram* in v.5[a], cf. I.136.3[d]; V 66.2[ab]; 67.1[d] VIII. 25.8[a] (c) The construction is in accord with I. 74.9[c] devébhyo...dāśúṣe = to the worshipper of the gods, with X.65.6[c] *varuṇāya dāśúṣe* = to the worshipper of Varuṇa and with X.113 5[c] *Mitrā'ya Váruṇāya dāśúṣe* = to the worshipper of M and V. There will be, thus, no necessity to look upon this passage as the single and exceptional one in the ṚV, in which the epithet is applied not to the god but to the worshipper (see my monograph on *vratá*, reprinted from the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute Vol. III, 407-88, sections 37 and 63).]

यथा चिद्वृद्धमतसमग्ने संजूर्वसि क्षमि ।
एवा दह मित्रमहो यो अस्मध्रुग्दुर्मन्मा कश्च वेनति ॥

VIII. 60. 7

Trans.:—Just as even high-grown underwood on earth, dost thou consume, O Agni, even so, O Mitra-luminous! whosoever our deceiver, of wicked thoughts watches (us).

Notes :—This is one of the *two passages*, which have led scholars like Grassman, Roth, Böhtlingk (Pw) and *even Geldner* (Glossar) to read into √ ven a bad sense *e. g., neidisch sein, finster blicken, Scheel sehen* etc. The other is IV.33.6. But there is no necessity at all to give the root a bad significance. The epithets : *asmadhrúk* and *durmánmā* adequately characterize the evil-doer who may therefore be described as 'keeping a watch' through *Vénati*.

उत माता महिषमन्ववेनदमी त्वा जहति पुत्र देवाः ।
अथाब्रवीद्वृत्रमिन्द्रो हनिष्यन्त्सखे विष्णो वितरं वि क्रमस्व ॥ IV. 18-11

Trans.:—And the Mother (*Aditi*) looked (with concern) after (*ánu* = in the direction of) the buffalo (*mahiṣám* i. e. her son Indra), (saying) " These gods desert thee, O son ". Then said Indra about to slay Vṛtra, " Friend Viṣṇu, stride forth more widely. "

Notes :—The attitude of the Mother is the particular circumstance described in the stanza is better expressed by ' a look of concern at her son, followed by a consultation with him ' then by a ' loving approach '. The Pw. meaning of √ *ven* with *ánu* for this passage ' anzulocken suchen ' (to seek to entice) is simply out of the question. The use is exactly parallel to that of √ *paś* with *ánu*, as for example in IX.70.4[d] : *Ubhé nrcákṣā ánu paśyate viśau* = Beholder of monk (that he is) he looks after *both* the tribes (human and divine).

यस्मिन्वृक्षे सुपलाशे देवैः संपिबते यमः ।
अत्रा नो विश्पतिः पिता पुराणाँ अनु वेनति ॥ X. 135.1

Trans. :—Under the tree of fine foliage, Yama drinks = revels in the company of the gods ; (right) here does our Lord of Settlers, the Father look after the ancient ones.

Notes :—For *ánu venati* see notes to IV.18 11. [I refer to my notes to X.123.6 for my theory regarding Yama. The ' Lord of Settlers ' may either be Yama (MVM , 172) or Varuna who is also connected with the nether region of darkness (see v. 2 [ab] cf. also VIII. 25 16) The first two verses of this hymn are spoken by the Kumāra , 3 and 4 are addressed to him ; 5-7 refer to the event Kumāra's birth. My views regarding the subject matter of the hymns must be reserved for another paper as they are not essential to my thesis in this paper.]

पुराणाँ अनुवेनन्तं चरन्तं पापयामुया ।
असूयन्नभ्यचाकशं तस्मा अस्पृहयं पुनः ॥ X. 135. 2.

Trans. :—Him, looking after the Ancients and moving in that evil way, I beheld grumbling ; (and then) I longed for him again.

Notes:—See notes to X. 135.1. Yama (or Varuna) keeps a watch over the departed Ancients (may be 'the luminaries that have set before'). The Kumāra grumblingly looks on him, is next reconciled to him and finally is full of enthusiastic regard for him as He alone will show the way out of the evil region.

II

Passages in which the second meaning 'to see (with the mind's eye), to sense, attend, regard, ponder over, meditate upon, and consider' are suitable and sufficient.

In the seven passages that follow the root √*ven* is used with the preposition *vi* which is one of the 8 adverbial prepositions which are never used adnominally. It has the sense 'asunder', 'apart', 'away' (=' dis-'). An intensive force is sometimes *given* by the prepositions *pari*, *vi* and *sam*. On the other hand, W. Neisser, while discussing *ávenant* says 'Gegenteil wäre *vi ven*', thus giving to *vi* the force of reversing the sense of the verb. But the point is not material from one point of view. *vi* having the very elastic capacity of imposing on the root, the sense of 'diversification, dispersal', etc. bordering on 'reversal' as also 'intensification' of the root-meaning, *makes* no difficulty at all, whatever view we take of the root-meaning. The only point to be noted is that since among these seven *vi*-passages in five the *prohibitive* particle *mā* accompanies and in the remaining two, the *privative* particle is prefixed, the two [1. prohibitive or privative particle + 2 *vi*] together must restore the original sense of √*ven* !

कृणोत्यस्मै वरिवो य इत्थेन्द्राय सोममुशते सुनोति ।
सध्रीचीनेन मनसाविवेनन्तमित्सखायं कृणुते समत्सु ॥

IV 24.6

Trans.:—He (Indra) brings relief to him who presses Soma thus (just as it should be) for Indra desiring (it), with a concentrated mind and (therefore) *by no means inattentive,* he makes him (the presser) even (his) friend in battles.

Notes.:—Oldenberg's view that (c) is here to be connected with (d) in view of IV.25.3; I. 33.11 and X.112.3 is to be upheld against

that of Geldner who connects it with (b) on the strength of X.160.3, for the following reasons :—(1) *Generally* a hemistich is an independent unit from the syntactical as well as euphonic point of view. (2) In six out of the seven passages in which √*ven* is used with *vi*, the verb is connected with the deity rather than the devotee. Thus *ávivenan* goes with Indra. The editions of Müllar and the Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona read *ávivenam*. *dvivenan* is given by Aufrecht, is supported by the *Saṃhitā* and padapāṭha traditions of the Vaidikas and very likely the correct reading for the following reasons :- (1) The other reading may have crept in through the influence of IV 25 3 d because hymns 24 and 25 have a general similarity of expressions. (2) If the influence of imitation is accepted, it is unlikely that IV.24.6 c contains the imitation because if it did, there would have been nothing to upset it from the point of view if either grammar or syntax and it (*i. e. ávivenam*) would have handed down to us intact (in IV.24 6 c) ; (3) IV.25.3 d may however, well have started by being imitative and failed because the present point *ávivenam* would have to be used in the plural which offended against the metre ; so one can understand that *ávivenam* was the best way out. See, however, Macdonell's view in the note to IV.25 3. I take √*ven* with *vi* here and in all the following six passages as *meaning* ' *to* look away, apart, or out ' (literally), therefore ' to be inattentive to ', ' to ignore ', ' to disregard ' etc. ; and this meaning fits in perfectly in all the passages.

को देवानामवो अद्या वृणीते क आदित्याँ अदितिं ज्योतिरीट्टे ।

कस्याश्विनाविन्द्रो अग्निः सुतस्यांशोः पिबन्ति मनसाविवेनम् ॥

IV. 25.3

Trans. :—Who chooses today the help of the gods ? Who magnifies the Ādityas (and) Aditi for light ? Of (the sap of) whose pressed Soma shoots do the Aśvins, Indra and Agni drink with a mind *not indifferently (disposed)* ?

Notes :—As we have already pointed out in the introductory sections,

√ *ven* which primarily means ' to see physically ' and secondarily ' to see mentally or behold with the mind's eye ' is very naturally associated with words like *Manasā'* (here and in IV. 24.6 ; IX. 97.22) *prdā* (X. 123 6). For a full discussion of *dvivenam* see IV. 24.6 ; I may add here the following :—As final *m* is regularly assimilated becoming the corresponding nasal the consequent actual change of *m* to *n* before dentals has, in the opinion of Macdonell (MVG 68), led to errors in the padapāṭha ; and so according to him *dvivenan tâm* of the Samhitāpāṭha of IV. 24.6 should have been analysed as *dvi-venam* instead of as *dvi-venan* which is wrong.

आ प्र द्रव हरिवो मा वि वेनः पिशंगराते अभि नः सचस्व ।
न हि त्वदिन्द्र वस्यो अन्यदस्त्यमेनांश्चिज्जनिवतश्चकर्थ ॥

V. 31.2

Trans. :—Speed on towards (us) O Lord of Bays ; do not *look away* ; O bestower of tawny gifts, draw towards us ! Nothing else exists (which is) superior to thee, O Indra ; thou, verily, makest the wifeless possessed of wives.

Notes :—(a) All that need be pointed out here is that there is no need to take √ *ven* with *vi* as = ' to turn away from or desert scornfully ' as Pw. does. No strong expression is called for. Grassman's meaning ' Sich abwenden (or) enlzichen ', (=turn away from) with just make clause 2 an unvaried repetition of clause 1 in the same pāda. Not that these meanings are untenable. All I want to point out is that √ *ven* = to look is as good as any other meaning.

एष ग्रावेव जरिता त इन्द्रेयर्ति वाचं बृहदाशुषाणः ।
प्र सव्येन मघवन्यंसि रायः प्र दक्षिणिद्धरिवो मा वि वेनः ॥

V. 36.4

Trans. :—This praiser of thine, O Indra, sends (forth) his voice, like a press-stone, breathing powerfully [*brhad* (adv.) (as he is)].

With thy left hand, O Maghavan, grant (us) riches ; with (thy) right (hand) also (grant us riches); do not look away, O Lord of Bays !

Notes :—I have to refer to my notes to IV. 24.6 ; 25.3 and V. 31.2 for the meaning of *vi venaḥ*. [My version of (b) should be noted.]

इन्द्र तुभ्यमिन्मघवन्नभूम: वयं दात्रे हरिवो मा वि वेन: ।

नकिरापिर्ददृशे मर्त्यत्रा किमङ्ग रध्रचोदनं त्वाहु: ॥

VI 44.10

Trans. :—O Indra, for thee, the giver, have we existed, O Maghavan ! Do not look away, O Lord of Bays ! No relative (of ours) is seen among mortals. Just why do they call you the inciter of the rich (*radhra*-códanam) ?

Notes :—See translation of V. 31.2 [a].

अश्विनावेह गच्छतं नासत्या मा विवेनतम् ।

तिरश्चिदर्यया परि वर्तिर्यातमदाभ्या माध्वी मम श्रुतं हवम् ॥

V. 75 7

Trans. :—Come hither, O Aśvins, do not look away O Nāsatyas ! (Across or) Over (the heads of our rivals), go your round with (a pro-) Aryan attitude, O Undeceivable Ones ! Listen to my invocation, O Lovers of honey !

Notes :—[(c) It is hardly relevant to my main thesis in this paper to discuss the difficult parts of a verse unconnected with the use of the root √ *ven*. I am tempted to mention the following facts :— This pāda owes its obscurity to the difficult word *aryayā'*. For a full discussion I refer the reader to Oldenberg p. 362-4 and Neisser (p. 117-8). The latter's interpretation is followed in the translation above. Where it not for the insuperable accent-difficulty *aryayā'*, taken as Instr. Sing of *aryā'* = the Dawn (see I. 123.1) would have provided a solution : " Across (the sea of heaven), with the *aryā'* (*i. e.* Uṣas), come round on your path."]

अश्विनावेह गच्छतं नासत्या मा वि वेनतम् ।
हंसाविव पततमा सुताँ उप ॥

V. 78.1

Trans. :—(a) and (b) are identical with those of V. 75 7. (c) and (d) Like two Swans, fly hither unto the (our) pressings (of the Soma).

Notes —See translation of V. 75·7[ab].

शशमानस्य वा नरः स्वेदस्य सत्यशवसः ।
विदा कामस्य वेनतः ॥

I. 86. 8

Trans. :—Of the sweat of him who fervently serves (you), as well as of the wish of him who *looks up* (*to you*), [or meditate upon you] do ye know (well), Ye Men of true strength !

Notes :—To translate *vénataḥ Kā'masya* as 'of the wish of him who desires or longs for you,' would involve an unnecessary tautology. In any case, the rendering of *vénataḥ* adopted in the translation above creates no difficulty, while it has the merit of keeping the root √ *ven* true to its Avestan equivalent *vaēnaiti*. Geldner translates in the same way as we have done : 'den Wunsch des (nach euch) Ausschauenden.'

नाके सुपर्णमुप यत्पतन्तं हृदा वेनन्तो अभ्यचक्षत त्वा ।
हिरण्यपक्षं वरुणस्य दूतं यमस्य योनौ शकुनं भुरण्युम् ।

X. 123.6

Trans. :—When they, *reflecting* in their heart, observed thee, the strong-winged one (the Bird) flying up into the sky, the goldwinged envoy of Varuṇa, the Bird fluttering (lit., 'busy') in the birth-place of Yama (till then).

Notes :—[The verse is to be syntactically connected (because of *yát*) with either the preceding or preferably the following verse in

view of the parallelism of vv. 6 and 7 to IX. 85 11 and 12.] (b) 'Seeing with the mind's eye, saw thee physically' is reversed in IV. 33.11 d to 'having seen (physically) the four (cups), fell to seeing with the mind's eye (reflection or furious thinking)' ..[The Bird, here, may be Soma identifiable with the moon as Hillebrandt suggests (Vedic Mythology 1,269). Though one may not agree with Hillebrandt in holding that in the whole of the 9th book, Soma is the moon, there is general agreement among scholars that in a few of the latest hymns of the ṚV in the first and tenth Maṇḍalas, Soma is identical with the moon. X 123.6 (*Vena* or the Bird here may even be the Sun as he rises up through the morning mist). The birthplace of Yama is in my opinion, the region below the eastern horizon from where Yama ('the setting Sun'?) is born; compare I.83 5 b and d = 'The Sun was born then...we pay homage to the immortal birth of Yama'. There is no doubt that in this passage, Yama ('the setting Sun') is described as being reborn as the rising sun. The *pṛdā vénantaḥ* are the Maruts if we accept (as we should) the identification of Vena with Soma here. IX. 66.26 speaks of Soma as *Marudgaṇa*, 'having the Maruts as his troopers,' and VI. 47.5 speaks of Soma as *Marutvān vṛṣabhaḥ*. But these theories will have to be looked upon as mere theories of mine at present until established with sufficient evidence which I am collecting and for my limited purpose in the paper, they are not at all necessary.]

तक्षद्यदी मनसो वेनन्तो वाग्ज्येष्ठस्य वा धर्मणि क्षोरनीके ।
आदीमायन्वरमा वावशाना जुष्टं पतिं कलशे गाव इन्दुम् ॥

IX. 97.22

Trans. :—When the speech of the *seeing* mind had fashioned [him = Soma?] in (conformity with) the law of the Greatest (Indra) at the head of (all) food, then came the bellowing cows to him, Indu the beloved Lord in the beaker, following their choice (*váram ā'*)

Notes. :—(a) It is more appropriate to describe the *mind* (*mánasaḥ*) whose *speech carefully* and *skilfully* fashions the Soma as '*seeing*' rather

than as 'loving' (For the power and greatness of personified speech or *Vāc*, see X.125, VIII. 100.10.11). [I prefer to supply 'soma' as object to *tákṣat* rather than 'priestly hymn' in view of (c) and (d). Soma when prepared, immediately takes up the frontmost rank among all foods and it must be prepared in accordance with the laws of Indra with whom Soma (called Indra's juice) is most intimately connected.]

तद्बन्धुः सूरिर्दिवि ते धियंधा नाभानेदिष्ठो रपति प्र वेनन्।
सा नो नाभिः परमास्य वा घाहं तत्पश्चा कतिथश्चिदास ॥

X. 61. 18

Trans. :—A Kinsman thereof, Nābhānediṣṭha, the patron (—poet) directing his thoughts to thee (to Indra?) speaks seeing (with his mind's eye), 'That is our closest tie and I am verily his (descendant); how far do I rank after him? [or (knowing) how far I rank after him].

Notes. :—*vénan* implies here the mental activity of visualizing or mentally looking back upon the exact relationship of the speaker to Vaitaraṇa (of v. 17). The context is the assertion by Nābhānediṣṭha of his right to be recognized a Brahmin on the strength of his keenship to this *vipra* king (Vaitaraṇa). This assertion of his right calls for *penetrating insight* on his part rather than *love*. *Vénan* can hardly be taken to mean 'loving' here for this reason. For the contents of this hymn see Olden II 261.

सत्यमूचुर्नर एवा हि चक्रुरनु स्वधामृभवो जग्मुरेताम्।
विभ्राजमानांश्चमसाँ अहेवावेनत् त्वष्टा चतुरो ददृश्वान् ॥

IV. 33. 6

Trans. :—Truly spoke the Men (the Ṛbhus), for (*hi*) so they acted, this (their) inherent (creative) energy they followed (*i. e.* gave free play to) Tvaṣṭṛ having seen the four cups shining like days *considered* (the situation).

Notes. :—Since the meaning 'love', or 'longing for' does not suit √ven here, Pw. and Grassman switch on to 'neidisch sein' (= to be envious or jealous) ! Rather too sudden a transition that ! Nor with Macdonell's (MVM., 133) 'acquiesced' do because in I.161 4-5 Tyaṣṭr is described as hiding himself on seeing the four cups and desiring to kill the Ṛbhus for desecrating the drinking vessel of the gods ! The whole episode is as follows :—The Ṛbhus deft-handed rivals of Tvaṣṭr were commissioned by the gods to make the one *wooden cup* (moon ?) into four offering to them as a reward a worshipful rank among themselves. Tvaṣṭr praised the declaration of the Ṛbhus to make two, three or four cups (IV. 33.5). That this praise was insincere is clear from his desire to kill the Ṛbhus on seeing the four cups as described elsewhere in the ṚV. (I. 161. 4–5). He must be hoping that these rivals of his, inpite of their vaunting declaration would come to grief when it came to actual performance. On actually witnessing the (to him very unpleasant) miracle, Tvaṣrṭ must have been too stunned for word (*avenat* in our verse) or action (I. 164.5ab). Therefore our rendering of *avenat* [= reflected on, pondered over, or considered (the situation)] is admirably suitable as flowing from the secondary sense of that root : 'To see with the mind's eye.' Our version of pādas (c) and (d) describes the very natural sequence of the reactions of Tvaṣṭr on seeing unpleasant miracle of the four cups. On seeing them (in a *physical* sense) he felt to looking at them with his mind's eye, furiously thinking.

क्रतूयन्ति क्रतवो हृत्सु धीतयो वेनन्ति वेनाः पतयन्त्या दिशः ।
न मर्डिता विद्यते अन्य एभ्यो देवेषु मे अधि कामा अयंसत ॥

X. 64.2.

Trans. :—(My) energies became energetic, thoughts, (arise or think) in my heart, (my) powers of vision visualize (or my perception perceive or senses sense) (and) fly to (all) directions ; no *other*

merciful one is found other than these, my desires have extended to (and centred on) the gods.

Notes :— (b) Here *venā'ḥ vènanti* may be translated as ' longings long ' but is hardly appropriate in view of *Kā'māh* in (d). The powers of vision (in our translation) may either be physical or mental. In either case a parallel would be provided by XI. 1.4[ab]

अग्निमच्छा देवयतां मनांसि— चक्षूंषीव सूर्ये सं चरन्ति ।

आ दिशः has been amended on excellent grounds into *ā-diśaḥ* by Kaegi (Rgveda 165) and Oldenberg [see his notes on I. 85.11 ; 119.2 and our passage in his Noten] in which case the translation after ' visualize ' would be " and my aims (or designs) fly of. "

THE KAṬHOPANISHAD: THE STORY OF NACIKETAS OR MAN'S SEARCH FOR HIS SOUL

S. K. MAITRA, Benares Hindu University

I can think of no better subject for an article for the Dhruva Memorial Volume than the one which I have chosen, for it exhibits in a most unique manner the characteristic features of our culture, of which the late Acharya Dhruva was such a noble representative For if there is anything which distinguishes our culture more than anything else from that of other lands, it is our search for the soul. And the story of Naciketas, depicted in the Kaṭhopanishad, is one of the grandest stories ever told of man's search for this soul.

The Kaṭhopanishad and the Bhagavadgītā

The Kaṭhopanishad, in which the story of Naciketas, the soul-mad boy, is narrated, resembles the Bhagavadgītā in something more than its outward form. Both these great works narrate the spiritual ascent of man, his rise from his narrow, individual, ego-locked state to a condition where he is one with the great mystery of the Cosmos and the still greater mystery of its Supra-Cosmic Source. They both start from some great crisis, some catastrophic event, such as a war of extermination (as in the Gītā) or death (as in the Kaṭhopanishad). But what is to be noted is that the crisis, the catastrophe, is a crisis of the soul. It is the soul's reaction to the external crisis which is the theme of both these great works. If the Gītā had merely depicted the sufferings of the Kauravas and the Pandavas and of the people who took their respective sides, it would have been an interesting historical document, but it would have had no place among the spiritual treasures of mankind. Similarly, if the Kaṭhopanishad had merely described the differences between a father and a son culminating in the father sending the son to the shades of death, the story might have had some sociological interest, but it could not have been counted among the greatest spiritual legacies of the human race. A battlefield in

which are engaged the pick of the human race is the external theme of the Gītā, and an equally, if not more critical event is the theme of the Kaṭhopanishad, the perennial event of death, the mystery of which no man has yet been able to solve. Death has not lost in the slightest degree its character as crisis, as a mystery, by reason of its being an everyday occurrence. The interest of these two great works, however, is not in these external events, critical as they are, but in the message which they carry for the human soul. They are both essentially problem-studies, and in this respect they resemble *Hamlet*, but there is this great difference, that while they both give a solution of the problem, Shakespeare's immortal drama only sets the problem before us without attempting any solution.

Who is Naciketas?

The first question that arises in one's mind as one reads this story is: Who is Naciketas? Just as the first question that comes to everybody's mind when reading the Gītā is: Who is Arjuna? The outer or physical facts about Naciketas may be set forth briefly as follows: He is the son of Auddālaka Āruni, a descendant of Vājaśravas (whence his name Vājaśravasa), a Brahmin who had the ambition of going to heaven by performing the Visvajit yajña which involves the sacrifice of all one's possessions. But as is very natural for those who care only for the outer forms of the rituals, without trying to discover their inner spirit, he tried to serve God with the least inconvenience to himself, and therefore wanted to give away old, decrepit cows which as the Upanishad sarcastically puts it, "had drunk their last water, eaten their last grass, given their last milk and would breed no more."[1] This appears too bad to Naciketas, and

[1] I must acknowledge my indebtedness for this interpretation of Vājaśravasa's action, as well as for various other ideas which are found in this paper, to Sri Krishna Prem's remarkable book, *The Yoga of the Kaṭhopanishad*, which has recently been published. My only regret is that I could not make as full a use of this book as I should have liked to do, for I had half finished this paper when I get a copy of his book. Although I have had occasion here and there to differ from him, yet I say without the least hesitation that his book is a strikingly original work and has been written from a standpoint from which,

therefore he asks his father, "To whom will you give me?", thereby suggesting that he should give something more valuable than the decrepit old cows if he is really anxious to go to heaven. This question he asks once, twice and thrice, and then the enraged father replies, "To Death shall I give you", and he keeps his word. Naciketas, therefore, has to go to the house of Yama, the dreaded ruler of the dead. Yama is absent when Naciketas reaches his house, and the latter fasts for three days and nights in his host's house before Yama returns. Hearing that his guest, who is a Brahmin, has fasted for three days and nights, Yama is full of fear lest some dire calamity should befall him, and he therefore wants to propitiate Naciketas by asking him to demand three boons from him. Naciketas demands as his first boon that his father should be free from all anxiety concerning him and should recognize him and receive him cordially when Yama will send him back to his home. Yama readily grants this, and asks him to demand a second boon. As his second boon Naciketas then asks for knowledge of that fire, the worship of which leads to heaven and thence to immortality. Yama not only grants this boon, but also names this fire after Naciketas. Yama, mightily pleased with Naciketas, then presses him to ask for the third boon. As his third boon Naciketas wants to have true knowledge of the soul, as conflicting views are held on the question of survival, some saying that the soul exists after death and others denying it. Yama tries his best to dissuade him from demanding this boon, saying that even the gods are not free from doubt on the question of the nature of the soul, and it is moreover so subtle and difficult that even if instruction was given on it, people would not be able to understand it. Not succeeding in this, Yama tries the method of offering temptations. "Ask," he says, "for sons and grandsons who shall live a hundred years, ask for many cattle, elephants, horses and gold, choose broad lands to live in, and for yourself, a life of as many years as you wish," and so on and so forth. But Naciketas is not the man to be

so far as is known to me, no other writer has written on the Kaṭhopanishad, namely the standpoint of realization. The book, in fact is one of the greatest contributions to the understanding of this Upanishad and will have a permanent place in the literature on the subject.

tempted in this way, and he sharply replies, " Keep these tempting things, horses, chariots, dance, music, etc. to yourself. I will have none of them " (" तवैव वाहास्तव नृत्यगीते "). Yama then gives him instruction on the nature of the soul.

These are, in brief, the external or physical facts about Naciketas. But what is the inner fact about him ? What is his character ? In the first place, we notice that he is very different from Arjuna. Arjuna, of course, is not a blockhead nor spiritually very weak. He is a Kshatriya and a scion of a most illustrious family. But still he cannot be said to be spiritually very advanced.[2] Naciketas, on the contrary, in spite of the etymology of his name,[3] is really highly advanced spiritually,[4] although he is a boy. He likes to go much further than Yama is at first willing to allow him to go. He does not hesitate to give Yama a snubbing, when latter tries to tempt him. He puts the question of the soul in the proper form (*vide* Kaṭh. I. 2. 14: " अन्यत्र धर्मात् " etc.), when Yama fails to come to the main question and introduces a lot of irrelevant matter, such as praise of Naciketas, into the discussion. He, in fact, always scores over

[2] I have discussed the question of Arjuna's character in my first article on *The Sādhana of the Bhagavadgītā* (" The Vedanta Kesari ", Sep. 1940) to which the reader is referred.

[3] A. K. Coomaraswamy in his *Notes on the Kaṭha Upanishad* (" New Indian Antiquary ", April, 1938, p. 49) notices several etymological meanings of the name Naciketas. One of these is " one who does not know but seeks to know ", which, he says, fits in exactly with the relation of Naciketas as questioner to Yama as Guru. Another is " one who does not know or is unwilling ". Sri Krishna Prem in his book already referred to, gives a more mystical meaning of the name. The name, he says, " is derived from *naciketas*, that which is unperceived and refers to the quickening Spirit that lies within all things like fire, latent in wood, " hidden in the two fire sticks ", unperceived by the senses and yet the spirit which giveth life, as opposed to Vājaśravas, the letter which killeth " (*The Yoga of the Kaṭhopanishad*, p. 15).

[4] A. K. Coomaraswamy, in the article already referred to, thus speaks of Nasciketas: " Naciketas is at once the Sacrifice and the Sacrificial priest ; if he needs to be instructed in his office by Death, this corresponds to ṚV. X. 52, where Agni likewise asks to be instructed in his duties. "

Yama whenever the latter tries to evade his questions. The case is very different with Arjuna. He is sharply pulled up by his Divine Teacher when he tries to pose as a great moralist, preaching the doctrine of non-violence. He is slow in following the teaching of his Great Teacher and candidly admits it He trembles with fear at the sight of the Lord's Viśvarūpa and only regains his composure when the Lord assumes again his human form.

Meaning of the boons: the first boon

I come now to the meaning of the boons asked for by Naciketas. These boons are organically related to one another and form, as it were, successive steps in the gradual ascent to the knowledge of the soul. The first boon is highly coloured by personal considerations. Naciketas shows great anxiety for reconciliation with his father and for returning to the Earth. But though this boon is no doubt coloured by personal considerations, yet it marks the first transition from the personal to the impersonal. Naciketas' anxiety to return to the Earth and to receive a good reception from his father is really an anxiety to maintain the continuity between this life and the next. If the world-process is an eternal passage from life to death, it is equally an eternal passage from death to life. Death, therefore, itself is deathless. The realization of this, the deathlessness of death, is the first stage in the realization of immortality. It is this which Naciketas seeks in his first boon. For this it is necessary to return to the Earth to maintain the continuity between life and death. Reconciliation with his father is a part of the maintenance of this continuity, for with his father's wrath unappeased, return to the Earth would have been impossible, and consequently, the chain would have snapped.[5]

[5] A. K. Coomaraswamy in the same article also gives a penetrating analysis of the first boon. He says that even in this life everybody has three lives and three deaths—the first life and first death occur when he is begotten, the second when he gets his initiation, and the third when he departs from this world. Thus it is nothing strange if Naciketas has to depart from this world and again returns to it. All our difficulties would disappear if we did not treat the story of Naciketas as an actual historical event. "What Naciketas asks," he says, "is that he may be 'let pass' by Death, may be 'released' unto his

This is the condition envisaged in the first boon There has not yet emerged the consciousness of the soul transcending death, but the world-process is seen to imply as its necessary condition the deathlessness of death.

The second boon

From the first boon to the second is a big jump, for the second boon represents an ascent to the stage of union with the cosmic forces. Naciketas in his second boon demands knowledge of Fire, the symbol of the cosmic processes with their perpetual change and movement.

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father, to the Father whom Death has long since, *i. e.*, at the close of a former Aeon, 'let pass' and 'released' unto his 'rest,' a rest to be perfected by the son's return and welcome. This is, in other words, and as the name Āruni suggests, not a 'human' story, but an ever recurrent *genealogia regni Dei*, in which the Father is always coming forth in the Son and the Son ever returning to the Father; which coming forth and sending forth of the Son is always a giving of the Son to a recurrent generation and death, in the sense of ṚV. X. 72: *prajāyai mṛtyave tvat punaḥ* and K. U. *mṛtyave*."

I am in general agreement with the substance of these remarks. The story of Naciketas has no doubt a universal, supra-human significance, and in that sense can be called a *genealogia regni Dei*. But it has a human interest also, and it would be a mistake to ignore it. It is not a pure allegory, illustrating some great philosophical truths, but it is also the story of the successive stages of realization of a soul in its onward march from death to the deathless. The craving of Naciketas, therefore, for return to the Earth and reconciliation with his father was a genuine craving of human soul which had not yet attuned itself to the completely impersonal standpoint. It is not an allegorical representation of the eternal return of the Son to the Father. The Father in the story is one who is still in the body, and not one who was released "at the end of a former Aeon". The return is also a return to the Earth, not to the world of the Fathers, and reconciliation with the father is a genuine reconciliation with a living person and not a figurative union with the Pitrs. The whole story of the Kaṭhopanishad is, in fact, as Sri Krishna Prem has beautifully shown, the story of a genuine realization, though it also illustrates certain great truths concerning life, death and the nature of the soul

It was as such that the great Greek sage Heraclitus viewed it But he saw in it something higher.[6] He saw in it not merely the eternal principle of Becoming but also a principal of Being which maintains its unity through all Becoming. This, in fact, is the meaning of his cryptic sayings, " One out of all and all out of one ", " The road up and down is the same ". This is made more clear in his famous saying, " We are and we are not ", which draws pointed attention to the fact that all being is through becoming. From Fire to the Divine Law of Zeus was thus an easy step for Heraclitus.

Not only Heraclitus, however, but practically all the ancient Aryan people were devotees of Fire. The ancient Iranians were great worship-

[6] That Heraclitus not only regarded Fire as a symbol of Becoming but also as a fundamental unity underlying all Becoming, is evident from the whole trend of his philosophy. Thus, Sri Aurobindo says of him (*Heraclitus*, p 18), " Fire is to him the physical aspect, as it were, of a great burning, creative, formative and destructive force, the sum of all whose processes is a constant and unceasing change. The idea of the One which is eternally becoming Many and the Many which is eternally becoming One and of that One therefore not so much as subtle substance or essence as active Force, a sort of substantial Will-to-become, is the foundation of Heraclitus' philosophy ". He further says (*Ibid*, p. 31), " All things then are in their reality and substance and law and reason of their being the One; the One in its shapes, values, changings becomes really all things. It changes and is yet immutable; for it does not increase or diminish, nor does it lose for a moment its eternal nature and identity which is that of the ever-living Fire ". Gomperz thinks that for Heraclitus Fire was not only a physical but also a spiritual substance. His Fire was a " soul-stuff " which he ultimately reduced to a universal law at the root of all mundane occurrences (*Vide Greek Thinkers*, Vol. I, p. 75). This universal law, Gomperz further says (*Ibid*, p. 76), " stood unmoved and unshaken through all the changes of individual objects and all the vicissitudes of material forms, in defiance of the destruction on which the cosmic system hastened at regular intervals, and from which it was reconstructed anew; and under the vague mystic description of universal reason or universal godhead it took its place by the side of primary utter, endowing it with reason and soul, as the one thing permanent in the cyclic stream of occurrences, without beginning and without end ".

pers of it. They looked upon Fire as the son of Ahura Mazda and regarded life itself as a kind of vital fire. To allow fire to be extinguished was with them a great sin.

Our Vedic sages were also equally devoted to it. Its worship was a great ritual with them, and Yama in our story also explains to Naciketas the details of it (Cf. " या इष्टका यावतीर्वा यथा वा " Kaṭh. I. 1.15).

Fire, however, was with them not only the object of a great ritual, but was intimately connected with the daily life of the householder. It was indispensably necessary for every *yajña*.[7] And because of its connection with *yajña* we may call it the principle of Karma, for *yajña* is only another name for Karma. But in being connected with *yajña* it

[7] Keith thus speaks of the relation of Fire to the domestic life of men and especially to *yajña* (*Vide Religion of the Veda*, Vol. I, p. 158-59) : " The domestic side of the fireworship is revealed mainly by the constant reference to Agni as the friend in the homes of man, whence comes his description as father, brother or son, or even mother. He has the epithet domestic, and is styled lord of the house. He is the immortal who abides among mortals in human habitations...On the other hand, we have abundant references to the activities of Agni as a sacrificer, and he serves as a model for sacrificers. He is an essential element in the transmission of the sacrifice to the gods who cannot enjoy it without him. On the one hand, he brings the gods down to the sacrifice and seats them on the strew that they may enjoy the food and drink offered. On the other hand, he bears the oblation to the gods in the heaven. In either case he is constantly serving as an envoy between the gods and men, and is especially often called the messenger of men, though also of that of Vivasvant ". About the process of development by which the fire came to be the normal vehicle of offerings to gods, Keith makes the following conjecture : " The exact form of the process of development by which the fire came to be treated as the normal mode of the offering to the deity is uncertain ; the making of a sweet odour may have been adopted, even when the gods were still supposed to come to the strew, in order perhaps to call their attention to the performance of the offering and to attract them there ; the strew and perhaps even the remains of the offering were burnt as too full of holy power to be safe to keep, or sometimes even in the case of the offerings to eat ; the fire has a strong power to drive off demons, or the fire was the actual god to whom the offering was made, all reasons from which the new use could arise " (*Ibid*, p. 287).

acquired also a cosmic significance, for, as the late R. S. Trivedi showed in his *Yajña Kathā*, Yajña had not only a human, but also a cosmic significance.

But Fire, with all its universality and eternity, is still a limited principle, and Naciketas himself shows its inadequacy by calling it *svargya* ("सत्वमग्निं स्वर्ग्यमध्येषि मृत्यो"), that is, as leading to the attainment of heaven, for what merely does this cannot be regarded as the highest principle. The Gītā also shows contempt for people who have for their goal the attainment of heaven. It calls them *svargaparāh*, that is to say, desirous of attaining heaven, and contrasts them with the *sthitaprajñāh*, who have renounced all desires.

It is true that fire, or at least one particular fire, is given an exalted position by being named after the hero of our story. But this should not tempt us, as it has tempted Sri Krishna Premji, to look upon it as the "central secret" of our Upanishad. That it cannot be the "central secret" will be apparent from a few simple considerations. In the first place, it is connected with a ritual, and no ritual, however exalted, can, in the view of this, as of other Upanishads, lead to salvation. Moreover, neither Naciketas nor Yama claims for it any higher power than that which leads to the attainment of heaven. Naciketas' words I have already quoted. Yama's words are exactly similar. For example, he says of the knower of this fire that he enjoys bliss in heaven ("मोदते स्वर्गलोके"). In another verse he speaks of it as that which leads to heaven (एष तेऽग्निर्नचिकेतः स्वर्ग्यः").

In that very difficult verse—"यः सेतुरीजानानामक्षरं ब्रह्म यत् परम्। अभयं तितीर्षतां पारं नाचिकेतं शकेमहि ॥" Kaṭh. 1. 3. 2–the Naciketas fire is called the bridge (सेतु) for the sacrificers (ईजानानाम्). It is called a bridge, and not itself the goal. Moreover, to what is it a bridge? Śaṅkara is perfectly right in thinking that it cannot be a bridge to *akṣara Brahman*, for it has throughout been called a bridge to heaven. Therefore, he has split this verse into two parts, one part dealing with the Naciketas fire and the other with *Akṣara Brahman*. This may be somewhat artificial construction of the verse, but his reason for making this division is quite sound. Under no circumstances can this fire be called the bridge leading direct to the imperishable

Brahman, for the previous descriptions of it have made it quite clear that it leads to heaven. Still less can it be identified with *aksara Brahman*.

I agree, however, with Sri Krishna Premji in looking upon the Naciketas fire as a necessary transmutation. Unless there is a previous transmutation of one's being through the stage of the worship of the fire, there is no possibility of ascent to the higher stages. But this most essential transmutation is that through the knowledge of the Self or Truth-Consciousness, as we may call it, borrowing an expression from Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. The transmutation through the Naciketas fire is really a bridge to that higher transmutation through Truth-Consciousness.

The third boon

I now come to the third boon asked for by Naciketas. This boon, although apparently it has for its object the knowledge whether the soul exists after death,[8] is really something much deeper than that. Survival

[8] Sri Krishna Prem in the book already referred to (p. 42 et seq.), objects to the above interpretation of Naciketas' question and quotes Madhva who takes *prete* in the sense of *mukte*. He further says that Naciketas could not have had any doubts on the question of survival, he having just returned from the halls of death, and he having said even before he set out on his journey to Yama that death is followed by rebirth, even as corn ripens and new corn comes in its place. It is no doubt true that Naciketas has no doubts on the mere question of survival, but he puts the question, because that is the traditional way of introducing the deeper and more essential question of the true nature of the soul. Yama understands the purport of Naciketas' question quite well, and while ostensibly giving an answer to the question of survival, he deals with the far more fundamental question of the ultimate nature of the soul. There is no doubt, however, that Naciketas did put the question of survival to Yama. This is clear not only from the words of Yama, " नचिकेतो मरणं मानुप्राक्षीः " " Naciketas, do not ask me about death ", but also from the use of the word *Sāmparāya* which is employed to designate the science about which Naciketas seeks instruction. Now this word, although it is more comprehensive than the English word Eschatology, yet means primarily the science of the next world, that is to say, the science of the destiny of the soul after death. This word is used twice in our story, once by Naciketas (" यत् साम्पराये महति ब्रूहि नस्तत् ") and once by Yama. The context in which the word is used by

is not the most important question about the soul nor one which brings out its most essential characteristics. Naciketas himself had survived death, and the question could not be of any importance to him. But survival is a convenient term, a sort of classificatory head, under which to discuss the whole question of the nature of the soul Plato also introduced, as we shall presently see, the problem of the nature of the soul through the question of survival. Yama also understands the question of survival in this sense, and therefore tests Naciketas regarding his fitness to receive instruction on it before actually imparting it.

Yama, having understood Naciketas' question in this deeper sense, proceeds to answer it by first pointing out the essential characteristic of the soul, namely, that it relates to *śreyas* or value, and not to *preyas* or pleasure. The first thing, therefore, to be learn about the soul is its transcendence of the valueless world of feelings and inclinations. Naciketas himself emphasizes this transcendence very strongly when he pulls up Yama very sharply when he strayed from the main point in his anxiety to praise Naciketas :

अन्यत्र धर्मादन्यत्राधर्मा-
दन्यत्रास्मात् कृताकृतात् ।
अन्यत्र भूताच्च भव्याच्च
यत्तत्पश्यसि तद्वद ॥

These words emphasize that the soul transcends the world of categories. It is neither Dharma nor Adharma, neither Cause nor Effect, neither

Yama brings out clearly its connection with survival, for he says that it is foolish people and people who are deluded by their wealth who are ignorant of this science (sāmparāya) and say that this world alone exists and there is no such thing as the next world (" अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी "). Survival, in fact, is the question which divides the believers in Ātman from the unbelievers, and therefore it is the customary peg upon which to hang the more fundamental problem. Moreover, the question as to what happens to the liberated soul after emancipation, that is to say, whether it can have any separate existence, is a rather technical question with which it is not customary to open a broad subject, especially when the interest of the discussion mainly lies elsewhere, that is, in establishing the immanence of the soul.

Past nor Future. All these mental characteristics are hopelessly inadequate to express the nature of the soul. The Taittirīya Upanishad describes it as यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह; that is, as that from which word and thought recoil, not finding it.

Its nature, therefore, cannot be revealed by concepts. Neither great learning nor discourses nor an acute intellect can reveal its nature, but it reveals itself to the soul which seeks it [9]:

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो
न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्य-
स्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनुं स्वाम् ॥

I. 2. 23

In other words, as Śaṅkara puts it, it reveals itself to itself ("आत्मनैवात्मा लभ्यः"). So also in II. 3.12, it is said that it is not known by speech or mind or the eye but it is revealed to the intuition of him who affirms its existence.

In a similar strain speaks another verse which says that it is not revealed to everybody but only to the subtle Buddhi of those who possess a subtle vision: "एष सर्वेषु भूतेषु गूढात्मा न प्रकाशते । दृश्यते त्वग्र्यया बुद्धया सूक्ष्मया सूक्ष्मदर्शिभि:" ॥

The Gītā also says the same: "नाहं प्रकाशः सर्वस्य योगमायासमावृतः ।"

How, however, is it revealed to this Buddhi ? The Kaṭhopanishad gives a dafinite answer. It is revealed as the Word, the Logos, the mystic syllable Om, the *akṣara Brahman*:

तत्ते पदं संग्रहेण ब्रवीम्योमित्येतत् ॥
एतद्ध्येवाक्षरं ब्रह्म एतद्ध्येवाक्षरं परम् ।
एतद्ध्येवाक्षरं ज्ञात्वा यो यदिच्छति तस्य तत् ॥

I. 2.15 and 16

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[9] I have followed here Śaṅkara's interpretation. The interpretation of Madhva, who sees in this verse an enunciation of the doctrine of Grace, cannot be accepted, for, as Sri Krishna Prem points out, the doctrine of Grace finds no place in the teaching of the earlier Upanishads.

But the Word, the Logos is also the immanent principle of all the cosmic processes, and therefore, to the seer who contemplates the syllable Om is revealed the immanent nature of the Divine as the active principle underlying the whole Cosmos:

भयादस्याग्निस्तपति भयात्तपति सूर्यः ।।
भयादिन्द्रश्च वायुश्च मृत्युर्धावति पञ्चमः ।।

II. 33

The immanent character of the Soul is more strongly emphasized in the following verse, where it is said that neither the sun nor the moon nor the stars nor lightning nor fire can shine in its own light, but they all shine in His light which lights up everything

न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकम्
नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुतोऽयमग्निः ।
तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं
तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति ।।

II. 2.15

Indeed, the main emphasis of the teaching is on the immanence of the Divine in the universe, thereby showing the latter to be itself Divine. Even Matter, as the Taittirīya Upanishad says ("अन्नं ब्रह्मेति व्यजानात्"), is Divine. The Absolute Spirit dwells in the heart of everyone, as a tiny object no bigger than a man's thumb: "अङ्गुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषोऽन्तरात्मा सदा जनानां हृदये सन्निविष्टः ।" If the body is the chariot, the soul is the lord of the chariot ("आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि शरीरं रथमेव तु") So also in the famous description of the body as a city with eleven gates[10] (Kaṭh. II. 2.1), the soul is called the ruler of the body. Its further description in the next verse as 'haṃsa', 'suciṣat', 'vasu,' 'antarikṣasat', etc. emphasizes its character as the indwelling principle of the universe.

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[10] Sri Krishna Prem looks upon this city as the city of the Psyche, but this does not bring out the idea of the soul dwelling in, and controlling the body, which is one of the main ideas of our Upanishad. It will moreover, not fit in with the thought of Kaṭh. II.2.2, where the soul is spoken of as dwelling within the whole universe, nor with that of II.2.3, where the soul is spoken of as controlling the *prāṇa* and the *apāna* breath.

The rôle of Yama

We have not yet discussed the rôle assigned to Yama in our story. Although his position is not so exalted as that of Krishna in the Bhagavad-gītā, yet in some respects it is even more important. For he holds the secret of death, and unless he reveals it, the ascent of the soul through successive transmutations is impossible. Death, in fact, blocks the way of the ascent of the soul. This accounts for the central position assigned to death in our story. Death is its occasion, death is the theme through which its teaching is imparted, and death is also the teacher by whom that teaching is given. This is also the reason why Naciketas puts his third boon in the form of a question relating to survival.

But the knowledge of death must mean the conquest of death. Death must pronounce death-sentence upon itself. This is why Yama is chosen as the teacher of Naciketas. The three boons prayed for by Naciketas represent the stages in the self-annulment of death. The first stage is the realization that life is death and death is life, that not only is there an ever recurrent cycle of birth and death, but that each of these is completed in the other. Secondly, along with this realization there must come another, and that is that a partial release from the cycle of birth and death can be secured in the form of blessed existence in heaven for a whole Cosmic Period. But a partial release only, for at the end of the cosmic period, at the time of a fresh creation, there will again occur the same recurrent cycle of birth and death. This partial release is all that rituals or the path of Karma can give. And thirdly, through knowledge obtained from the mouth of death, there will supervene upon the two previous realizations a third, which is the final extinction of death. But mind, it can only emerge after the first two stages, for it is the fulfilment and consummation of them. This is what the Īśopanishad also, as we shall presently see, cryptically expresses by saying, "अविद्यया मृत्युं तीर्त्वा विद्ययाऽमृतमश्नुते".

Yama is peculiarly fitted for the rôle assigned to him. For he is not only the ruler of the dead, but the first of the mortals. He is therefore the best intermediary between this world and the next. Not only that,

but he is a ruler of the highest heaven, abode of the Sun.[11] He is therefore competent to show the way not only to heaven, but also to that which leads to emancipation and is consequently eminently qualified to be a teacher of Naciketas in the very difficult science of Sāmparāya. And his teaching also, as I have already shown, reflects very well his own position as an intermediary between the higher and the lower worlds. For its main object is to show that the higher principle already dwells within the lower. The Absolute Spirit already resides in the human heart. He is, however, careful to point out also the transcendence of the soul, as when he likens it to the Sun (Kaṭh II 2.11), which, although it is the eye of the world, is not affected by the defects of the eyes.

Comparison with the Īśopanishad

The three boons of Naciketas, in the order in which they are presented, prove, as we have seen, the impossibility of the emergence of the higher knowledge without passing through the stage of the lower knowledge, symbolized by the Naciketas fire. The higher knowledge does not come by bye-passing the lower one, but by transforming and transmuting it. This is also the great truth proclaimed by the Īśopanishad in those six difficult verses (verses 9-14), beginning with " अन्धं तमः प्रविशन्ति येऽविद्यामुपासते । ततो भूय इव ते तमो य उ विद्यायां रताः ॥ " which have proved so baffling to generations of scholars.

The first of these verses asserts that the man who worships Avidyā, that is, the lower knowledge, symbolized by Karma, with its engrossment in the Many, without caring for the true knowledge, enters the region of

[11] After pointing out these two aspects of Yama, his position as ruler of the highest heaven and his connection with death, Keith says (*Religion of the Veda*, Vol. II, p. 408), " It is tempting to see in him the king of a golden age, and then of a realm of the spirits of the heroes of that age, the Rishis mentioned with him as makers of the way to the world to come, as Oldenberg suggests, but the evidence hardly avails to establish this". Likewise he is opposed to the view which treats Yama as the *alter ego* of the living man, his soul." Hopkins (*Religions of India*, p. 134) quotes with approval Scherman's view, namely, that Yama was originally a human being, and was later elevated to, if not identified with, the Sun.

blind darkness, but that into still greater darkness enters the man who cares only for the higher knowledge, ignoring altogether the lower knowledge vouchsafed by Karma[12] The second verse shows that there is a vast difference between the higher and the lower knowledge. The third verse points out that both Vidyā and Avidyā, that is, the knowledge of the One and the knowledge of the Many, are necessary, and that the man who knows both of these crosses beyond death with the help of Avidyā and attains immortality with the help of Vidyā.

The meaning of these verses is quite clear. It is to show the folly of those who in their anxiety to be absorbed in the One follow the path of knowledge and show contempt for Karma and the world of the Many. It is far better to follow the path of Avidyā than to follow that of knowledge, ignoring altogether the world of the Many. Naciketas also, by asking first for the knowledge of Fire before praying for the knowledge of the Self showed the indispensability of the path of Karma for the attainment of the knowledge of the Self.

The same thought is expressed in the next three verses also. Or rather, if we adopt Sri Aurobindo's interpretation of these verses, they show a somewhat higher standpoint than that of the previous verses.[13]

[12] I am prepared to accept Śaṅkara's interpretation of Avidyā as Karma, for Karma with its engrossment in the world of plurality undoubtedly symbolizes Avidyā, although I totally disagree with him about the rest of his interpretation of these verses. The contrast here is between Knowledge with its engrossment in the One and Karma with its occupation with the Many. Śaṅkara has made a mess of these verses. Not being able to explain from his point of view how the worshippers of Vidyā enter into an even greater darkness than the worshippers of Avidyā, he has interpreted Vidyā not in the sense of the highest knowledge, but in the sense of the knowledge of the Devas (See the trenchant criticism of Śaṅkara's interpretation in *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. I, Part I).

[13] See Sri Aurobindo: *Isha Upanihad*, pp. 111-12 and 119-20. Sri Aurobindo interprets *sambhūti* and *asambhūti* in the sense, respectively, of birth and non-birth, and points out that the order in which the knowledge of the One and the knowledge of the Many are mentioned in these verses is the reverse of the order in the previous verses. "So great", he says, "is the scruple in the

For they not only assert that both Birth and Non-Birth are essential to the attainment of the full status of our being, but that we shall realize immortality in Birth itself, that is, we shall have, as Sri Aurobindo has expressed it in *The Life Divine*, an "earthly immortality". In other words, it will not be necessary to pass out of terrestrial existence or discard matter, life and mind, in order to attain immortality.

Parallel from Plato's "Phaedo"

The idea of the Kaṭhopanishad that the nature of the soul can only be understood from a consideration of the problem of Death, we find also very clearly in Plato's "Phaedo". Further, just as in the Kaṭhopanishad the occasion for instruction about the nature of the soul is Naciketas' banishment by his father to the halls of Death, so also in the "Phaedo" the occasion for the discussion of the problem of the soul is the impending death of Socrates. On the day when Soscrates will have to drink the hemlock and die, his disciples have gathered round him, and a terrible feeling of dejection and sorrow has descended upon them and they can think of nothing but the impending calamity before them, namely, the death of Socrates. This is the setting in which the discussion on Death and the immortality of the soul takes place.

After some preliminary talk,[14] Socrates begins the real discussion by

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Upanished that having so expressed itself in the formula, "By the Ignorance having crossed over death, by the knowledge one enjoys Immortality", that Life in this world might be interpreted as only a preliminary to an existence beyond, it at once rights the balance by reversing the order in the parallel formula, "By dissolution having crossed over death, one enjoys Immortality", and thus makes life itself the field of the immortal existence which is the goal and aspiration of all life. In this conclusion it agrees with the early Vedic thought which believed all the worlds and existence and non-existence and death and life and immortality to be here in the embodied human being, there evolvent, there realizable and to be possessed and enjoyed, not dependent either for acquisition or enjoyment or the remuneration of life and bodily existence" (*Ibid*, pp. 111-12).

[14] I have throughout followed Jowett's translation of this dialogue, as given in *The Dialogues of Plato*, Vol. II, 3rd edition. The quotations also are all from the same translation.

saying that the philosopher desires death. But he desires it, not in the sense in which ordinary people will be able to understand him. He desires it, because death is the separation of soul and body, and the philosopher desires such a separation. And he desires it because the body is a hindrance to true knowledge. As Socrates puts it, " thought is best when it is gathered into herself and none of these things trouble her—neither sounds nor sights nor pain nor any pleasure—when she takes leave of the body, and has as little as possible to do with it, when she has no bodily sense or desire, but is aspiring after true being ". And he further adds: " And in this the philosopher dishonours the body; his soul runs away from his body and desires to be alone and by himself ".

The standpoint of the Kaṭhopanishad here differs from that of Plato. The Kaṭhopanishad never asserts that a man will have to wait for salvation till death. It believes, on the contrary, in *jīvanmukti*. Kath. II.3.4 [15] (" इह चेदशकद्बोद्धुं, etc.") and II.3.14-15 (" यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते etc.) are quite definite on this point.

Socrates then goes on saying that it is for this reason that far fiom being sorry at the approach of death, he is rather glad, for he will now

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[15] I have adopted Śaṅkara's interpretation of this verse He has taken the first line of this verse to refer to the case of those who have known Brahman in this life and the second line to that of those who have not had this knowledge. The meaning of the verse would then be; in case one gets this knowledge (knowledge of Brahman) before the dissolution of one's body, then he is emancipated. If not, he takes birth in the various worlds. In the first line, according to Śaṅkara, the words " संसारबन्धनाद्विमुच्यते " are to be understood at the end, and in the second line the word 'ततः' is to be taken in the sense of 'ततोऽनवबोधात्.' The construction is no doubt an extremely forced one, but the interpretation of the verse as a whole seems to be correct, for it agrees completely with the standpoint of II. 3.14 15. I think the easiest way out of the difficulty is to insert the negative particle *na* between *cet* and *aśakat*, as Max Müller has done. Such omissions of particles are very common in Vedic literature. Sri Krishna Prem's interpretation is not in keeping with the general standpoint of this Upanishad, and especially with that of II. 3.14-15, where undoubtedly *jīvanmukti* is indicated.

attain that which has been the pursuit of his life. And not only he, but every true philosopher is glad at the prospect of death.

Cebes, however, points out at this stage that Socrates has not yet proved the existence of the soul after death, and that there is doubt in men's minds on this question, some saying, for instance, that on the day of death the soul perishes also with the body Here one cannot fail to notice the close parallelism between Naciketas' question and that of Cebes.

Socrates, in answering this question, puts forward the general Proposition that all things are generated out of their opposites; for example, the weaker is generated from the stronger, the swifter from the slower. To this proposition Cebes assents, and Socrates draws from it the important conclusion that life is generated from death, just as death is generated from life. Now the latter process is visible to us, but we cannot exclude the opposite one. We cannot say that nature walks on one leg only. We have therefore to admit that the living come from the dead, just as the dead come from the living. This is exactly what Naciketas said in the Kathopanishad, "शस्यमिवः मर्त्यः पच्यते शस्यमिवाजायते पुनः" Socrates further says that generation cannot be in a straight line, but must always be in a circle. For if there were no circle in nature, no return of elements into their opposites, then all things would have the same form and there would be no generation. He illustrates this by an example. " You know that if there were no alternative of sleeping and waking, the tale of the sleeping Endymion would in the end have no meaning, because all other things would be asleep too, and he would not be distinguishable from the rest. And in like manner, my dear Cebes, if all things which partook of life were to die, and after they were dead remained in the form of death, and did not come to life again, all would at last die, and nothing would be alive—what other result could there be ? "

This conclusion, that if the world-process is to be acknowledged, then you cannot call it a mere process of life, any more than you can call it a mere process of death, is one of the main points discussed in the Kaṭhopanishad, as we have seen. It is also, as we have shown, the meaning of Naciketas' first boon. His desire, in fact, to return to the Earth is due to the necessity which he feels of maintaining the continuity between life and

death. It is for this reason also that Death (mrtyu) is the technical term used for the world of generation (saṃsāra) in order to emphasize the fact that death is as much a characteristic of it as life (Cf. " मृत्योः स मृत्युं गच्छति" Kaṭh. II.I.II).

To return to the story of Socrates. Cebes now suggests to Socrates that his favourite doctrine that knowledge is recollection would also prove the immortality of the soul, for it implies that we must have learned at a previous time what we now recollect. Simmias, however, had doubts about the truth of this doctrine, and therefore asks Cebes to give reasons in support of it. Cebes says an excellent proof of this is afforded by questions. " If you put a question to a person in a right way, he will give in true answer of himself, but how could he do this unless there were knowledge and right reason already in him ? And this is most clearly shown when he is taken to a diagram or to anything of the sort." Cebes evidently is referring to Socrates' putting questions to a slave-boy, as narrated in " Meno ", when the boy could give correct answers to questions about he had received no instruction in this life.

As Simmias wants further instruction on the question, Socrates takes it up himself. He begins by saying that what a man recollects he must have known at some previous time. Thus if a man, on seeing a lyre, recognizes it as belonging to a youth who is in the habit of using it, or seeing Cebes he remembers Simmias, in such an association we have a clear case of recollection. Now recollection may be derived either from like things or from unlike things. And when it is derived from like things, the question arises whether the likeness in any degree falls short or not of that which is recollected. Now there is such a thing as absolute equality, which is different from the equality of two pieces of wood or stone. And yet from the equality of these pieces of wood or stone, we are reminded of an absolute equality, which the equality of these things aims at being but falls short of being. This is only possible if we had a previous knowledge of absolute equality, of which the equality of things falls short. Thus before we began to see or hear or perceive in any way, we must have had a previous knowledge of absolute equality. The same is true of beauty, goodness, etc. Socrates, therefore, says,

"Then may we not say, Simmias, that if, as we are always repeating, there is an absolute beauty, and goodness, and an absolute essence of things, and if to this, which is now discovered to have existed in our former state, we refer all our sensations, and with this compare them, finding these ideas to be pre-existent and an inborn possession—then our souls must have had a prior existence, but if not, there would be no force in our argument? There is the same proof that these ideas must have existed before we were born, and if not ideas, then not the souls.

Socrates thus connects the doctrine of reminiscence with the theory that all knowledge is really made possible by the eternal ideas to which it is more or less an approximation This theory agrees with the view expressed in the verse "न तत्र सूर्यो भाति," etc. (Kath. II. 2 15), which asserts that all objects are known by the light of the Infinite Consciousness. This idea also occurs in several passages of the Bṛhadāraṇyakopanishad. For instance, in B. U. III. 7. 23, it is said of the soul that being itself invisible, it is the seer of everything; being itself inaudible, it hears everything; being itself unthinkable, it thinks everything; other than it there is no seer, other than it there is no hearer, other than it there is no thinker, other than it there is no knower. So again, in B. U. IV. 3. 6, in reply to the question of Janaka, when the sun has set and the moon has set, and the fire is extinguished, and the voice is silenced, by what light does the Purusha shine? Yājñavalkya says: By the light of the Soul. The same thought is also expressed in Kena I. 4-8.

To return to Socrates, Cebes at this stage raises the point that although Socrates has proved the existence of the Soul before birth, he has not proved its existence after death. Socrates replies that if the two arguments he has advanced are joined together—the argument from recollection and that which establishes that everything is born of the dead—then this will furnish the proof he is in search of. For if the soul exists before birth, and in coming to life and being born, can be born only from death and dying, must she not after death continue to exist after death, since she has to be born again.

As Cebes is not quite convinced, Socrates gives an independent proof of the existence of the soul after death. He begins by saying that if the fear

is about the dispersion of the soul after death, they should remember that it is only the composite that suffers dispersion. What is uncompounded cannot suffer any dispersion, for it is unchanging; on the contrary, the compound is always changing. Now the idea or essence, that is, true existence, whether essence of equality, beauty, or any thing else, is unchanging whereas the things perceived by the senses are always changing. The changing things which we perceive with the senses may also be called visible, whereas the unchanging essence is invisible.

Now man has two parts—a body and a soul. The body is of the nature of the visible and the soul of the invisible. The soul, therefore, is unchangeable. It is only when she is dragged by the body into the region of the changeable, that she wanders and is confused. But when she is in her true state she is absolutely unchangeable.

Further, when soul and body are united, then it is the soul which rules and it is the body which serves and obeys. Now the former function is akin to the divine, and the latter to the mortal. The Soul, therefore, resembles the divine. The Soul, then, " is in the very likeness of the divine, and immortal, and intellectual and uniform, and indissoluble and unchangeable ".

What is the purport of this dialogue? Is it simply to prove the fact of survival? We hold definitely that its object is something more. The problem of death is simply the occasion for discussing something which is more important. The question of survival is only the starting-point of the discussion, just as it is in the Kaṭhopanishad. The real object of the dialogue is to show the Divinity of the Soul. This is also the view of Prof. A. E. Taylor. Thus he says (*Vide Plato the Man and his Work*, pp. 176-77), " The purpose of the dialogue is not quite accurately described by calling it a discourse on the 'immortality of the soul.' To us this suggests that the main idea of the reasoning is to prove the soul's endless survival, and *nothing* more. But to the Greek mind *athanasia* or *aphtharsia* regularly signified much the same thing as 'divinity', and included the conception of ingenerability as well as of indestructibility.. The subject of the dialogue is better indicated by the name used by Plato himself in Ep. xiii. 363 a, where it is said to be 'the discourse of Socrates

about the psyche'. The immediate and principal object of the whole conversation is the justification of the life of 'tendance of the soul', by insisting on the *divinity* of the human soul, and on 'immitation of God' as the right and reasonable rule of conduct; the immunity of the soul from death is a mere consequence, though an important consequence, of this inherent divinity"

Conclusion

To conclude: The story of Naciketas is the story of man's realization of his Soul. This realization has three distinct stages, and these stages correspond to the stages of the self-annulment of death It is not therefore an accident that Yama is the teacher of Naciketas The god of Death can alone give the knowledge that can lead to the conquest of death

From the point of view of a man's realization, there are stages This does not mean, however, that the Kaṭhopanishad teaches the doctrine of Krama-mukti or emancipation through stages I personally think that the emancipation which it favours is the other one, the Jīvanmukti or emancipation in this life.[16] This is clear from II. 3. 4, where it is distinctly stated that Krama-mukti is only for those who do not know Brahman before their death, as well as from II. 3. 14–15.

But even if Jīvanmukti is the ideal which this Upanishad puts before us, it does not mean that the seeker after it can dispense with all preliminary discipline. It rather seems to me to insist upon the necessity for such previous discipline. The worship of the Naciketas fire, for example, would lose all its meaning if it was possible to obtain Jīvanmukti without the necessity of going through this ritual. In fact, our Upanishad, like the Īśopanishad, insists upon a preliminary process of Karma for all who seek salvation. The final emancipation through knowledge does not surely wait

[16] Profs. S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade in their joint work (*History of Indian Philosophy,* Vol. II: The Creative Period, p. 270) thus speak on the same subject: "On the other hand, it is not impossible to see in the Kaṭhopanishad a definite leaning towards the doctrine of Jīvanmukti or full liberation in this life, when the author says that the moment the Ātman is seen the knots of the heart are broken and the desires are at an end (II. iii. 14-15)."

till death, but it does demand a previous ritualistic discipline. This is the significance of the Naciketas fire.

My object in this article, however, is not to discuss this question, and I have therefore only incidentally mentioned it. My purpose has been to show what the story of Naciketas tells us about the stages through which the individual has to pass before he can discover his soul. These stages are stages in the transmutation of his being. His being must undergo a trible transformation before it attains final emancipation through the knowledge of the Soul. Each of these transformations prepares the ground for the next one, and consequently, not one of these can be dropped.

But the beauty of this Upanishad lies in the wonderful manner in which it makes death give this emancipating knowledge which leads to the annihilation of death. This is not merely a dramatic device, but a logical necessity, as I have explained. It is only death that can kill death. Hence the central position assigned to death in this Upanishad, and hence also the peculiar form which Naciketas' question to Yama takes. We notice the same thing in Plato's " Phaedo ".

The Kaṭhopanishad is the story of individual realization. But it is possible to take its teaching in a cosmic sense, that is, to interpret the stages of realization as the stages of transmutation of the universe by which it becomes ultimately fit for the reception of the Higher Light which will make it a proper abode for the Divine Man or the Gnostic Being. This is the standpoint of the Iśopanishad.

YAJÑACAKRAPRAVARTANAM

Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, M. A., PH. D., Poona

[Soon after joining the Benares Hindu University, I was asked to give a pravacana or discourse on the Bhagavadgītā. The revered Pandit Malaviyaji and Ācārya Dhruvaji were amongst the audience. One of the main points I then stressed was the need of a critical and Variorum edition of the Bhagavadgītā. The Panditji approved of the idea and asked me to formulate a scheme in consultation with Prof. Dhruva. The scheme has been approved and is entrusted to me. The work is progressing apace and the first volume of the edition is already published. But it is sad to think that Prof. Dhruva, who gave me valuable advice and to whom I sent a part of my typed MS. for comments, is no longer with us to see the project fulfilled. As a humble tribute to the memory of the Professor I send the following contribution to the Commemoration Volume which is to be issued in honour of the late Ācārya Dr. Anandshankar B. Dhruva.]

The Bhagavadgītā is generally supposed to be opposed to the old-world religion of the Sacrifice. In ii. 42-46 it inveighs against the "undiscerning followers of the Vedic creed of the Sacrifice". It often emphasises, elsewhere, Jñāna or knowledge, and more particularly, Bhakti or devotion. It is not surprising therefore to find that the myth about the origin of the Sacrifice (iii. 10-13), the various sub-divisions of the Sacrifice (iv. 25-32), and other related passages like ix.16ff. should have been pronounced by Garbe and others as "interpolations into the 'original' Gītā". Śaṅkarācārya, as is well known, regards passages like iii. 10ff. as having a special reference to an *anadhikārin* like Arjuna who has yet to acquire the qualifications for following the higher path of Knowledge, which alone can lead to salvation. No greater injustice could have been shown to the Author of the Bhagavadgītā, who would have regarded the injunction "to keep the Wheel of the Sacrifice ever on the move (iii. 16)" as the

cardinal teaching of the Poem. In fact the emphasis of the Bhagavadgītā on the Cāturvarṇya (iv. 13), and the elaborate three-fold division of the Sacrifice and its parts in Chapters xvii and xviii, would be all meaningless if Śrīkṛṣṇa had not intended to countenance the Yajña. Only, the Yajña has to be understood in a far more extended sense, and has to be performed in the specific mood recommended by the Gītā. I propose to interpret here afresh the Yajñacakra mentioned in iii. 14-15.

Regarding the central idea of the theory, that of the Yajña or Sacrifice, it would be useful to notice briefly its previous history. In the Early Vedic period, Sacrifice was considered as an offering of piety which man, out of the fulness of his heart made to the Divinities behind the Powers of Nature, who ministered to his needs by giving him warmth, light, rain, etc. It was naturally expected that the Gods would accept these offerings, and the fervent prayers which accompanied them, with gladness, and would in-return continue their favours unabated and, if possible, in greater abundance. The Sacrifice became, in course of time, a frankly "Give and Take" affair, and even a 'magical net' the persuasive lure of which even the Gods themselves could not resist. Later, the Gods sank into a relatively subordinate position, the ritual itself being elaborated and magnified until it became a supreme and omnipotent world-force, a regular creative principle. The great philosophical doctrine of "Sarvaṁ khalvidam Brahma", for which the Upaniṣads get such credit, was at first actually adumbrated as a sacerdotal theory of the mystic correspondence (Bandhutā) between the materials and potences brought together by the almighty Sacrifice.

Possessing, as it no doubt did, all this knowledge about the status and significance of the Vedic Sacrifice, the Bhagvadgītā could not naturally have ignored this great idea, but rather sought to utilise it, like the kindred ideas of the "Traiguṇya" and the "Cāturvarṇya", to support its central theme. It also utilised for its purpose two other ideas then very much to the fore. The first was the idea that the Sacrifice which man is enjoined to perform is for liquidating his pre-natal Debts such as, that to the Gods (through offerings in Sacrifice: cp. BG. iii. 11), to the ancient Ṛṣis (through reciting the Mantras composed or "seen" by them), to the

Manes (through Śrāddha libations), and to Society in general (through offering shelter, food, etc. to the needy). The other idea was that the Gods themselves could not escape the obligation to perform. Sacrifices in order to win their ends; and that even the Creator was able to create the universe only after performing the Sacrifice, which, the Texts tell us, brought exhaustion upon the Creator, who naturally became anxious to recoup his lost energy (Śatapatha Brāhmana, III. 7. 2 1).

With all these ideas in the background let us try to interpret the Wheel of the Sacrifice, which is a Cause-Effect sequence.[1] At one end of the series we have Bhūtāni (creatures), whose supporting cause is Anna (food), whose generating cause is Parjanya (rain), whose generating cause-agreeably to the then prevailing belief—is Yajña or the Sacrifice. So far the series runs smooth. Next, seeing that an ordinary Sacrifice is a complex concatination of diverse actions of one kind or another performed by the various participants, we can also understand the following step, which makes Yajña the effect of Karman (action). And now comes the rub. The Bhagavadgītā ultimately wishes to understand the Yajña in a much more extended sense so as to embrace all actions performed by man in a day-to-day discharge of his ordinary duties, which Śrīkṛṣṇa wants him to regard as a kind of Yajña. Now, while what actions are to constitute the normal ritual of the Sacrifice proper is laid down by the Veda, what actions are to make up the normal routine of a man's life is determined by the person's Guṇa-constituents: Prakrteḥ kriyamānāni sarvasaḥ, as iii. 27 has it. Hence, the determining cause of the Karman (the last category of the series so far reached) would be the Veda if Karman is understood in a purely ritualistic sense; but if Karman is understood in the extended sense, the determining cause would be the Prakṛti, as iii. 27 teaches us. For the purpose of our series then we want one word which can convey the sense of both 'the Veda' and 'the Prakṛti'. There was only one

[1] The words are—अन्नाद्भवन्ति भूतानि पर्जन्यादन्नसंभवः ।
यज्ञाद्भवति पर्जन्यो यज्ञः कर्मसमुद्भवः ॥ ३।१४ ॥
कर्म ब्रह्मोद्भवं विद्धि ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवम् ।
तस्मात् सर्वगतं ब्रह्म नित्यं यज्ञे प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ ३।१५ ॥

such word hallowed by ancient usage[2] that was available—Brahman—and the Bhagavadgītā has used it and carried the series one step forward.

For the last and the final step in the series there was wanted an entity (expressed by only one word in the Sanskrit language) which can be the author of the Veda as well as of the Prakṛti, and the Upaniṣadic text relied upon for the solution of the earlier difficulty was able to point out the word in this case also: it was Akṣara, which, according to the Mundaka, was the cause of Brahman (= Prakṛti), and which, the BG. itself later tells us, denotes the "Om"-kāra (viii. 13), which again is a condensed (ekatvena) expression for the Vedas as a whole (ix. 15, 17). There are also other passages which speak of the Veda as being an 'outbreathing' of the Immutable, who is designated the Great (Parent) Bhūta.[3] In this way the causal link has been completed according to the established usage of the terms employed, and we find that, so far from the Bhagavadgītā being 'inconsequential in the use of its technical terms'—as is the usual charge laid to its doer it has chosen its words with care and precision.

To settle the exact import of the terms of the causal series is not, however, so important as the more vital task of completing the series by linking together its two end-terms and turning it into a self-revolving wheel. A familiar self-revolving cycle is the Ocean-Vapour-Cloud-Rain-Rivers series, wherein the Rivers restore to the Ocean what it had lost, so that the rotation can go on uninterruptedly. In the Yajña series also the Akṣara, the Immutable Brahman, the Great Bhūta of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka text (ii. 4.10), must be expecting the 'little' Bhūtas, the last of the kāryas or effects, to restore its exhausted potence. And how is this to be done? The Bhūtas have to consider their individual actions as so many Yajñas the fruit of which is to accrue to the Immutable Brahman, or, personalistically viewed, to Lord Kṛṣṇa, who declares himself, in so many words, as the Master and Enjoyer of the fruits of all Yajñas (v. 29, ix. 24). To discharge the appointed duty of one's station in life without the agent's "I"-consciousness or the fruit-enjoyer's "My"-consciousness, and in the

[2] Cp. Muṇḍaka 1. i.9: तस्मादेतद्ब्रह्म नामरूपमन्नं च जायते ।

[3] Cp. Bṛhad Ār. ii. 4.10: अस्य महतो भूतस्य निश्वसितमेतद्यदृग्वेदो etc.

firm faith that the individual is merely the instrument (nimitta, cp xi. 33) of God on whom alone the responsibility of all karman is to rest (iii. 30, ix. 27), the karman in fact being no longer the individual's karman, but God's own karman, the discharge of which by the individual would be so much karman taken off the God's shoulder, so to say, would hence be the surest way of pleasing Him, as xviii. 46 tells [4] us For, God has, as BG. iii. 22, iv. 7-8 declare, much voluntary work to discharge, and He rather wants it to be done by us, human beings, in the spirit of what is technically called " Lokasamgraha ". This part of the " Yajñacakra " teaching is well brought out in the last line of the text before us : ' Tasmāt Sarvagatam Brahma nityaṁ yajñe pratisṭhitam.' These words also deserve a careful scrutiny.

The highest term reached in the effect-cause series that we have been considering was Akṣara, which ordinarily denotes the Brahman in the so-called " Kūṭastha " condition, before the process of creation starts. This is the Para Brahman in which the desire to create is yet unborn. When such a desire arises, there is born in the Brahman a " Sva "-consciousness— a subject-object differentiation—which is the parent of God's creative potence known familiarly as the Māyā. This is not a doctrine of Later Vedānta : the Bhagavadgītā itself plainly proclaims it in the reply to the opening question of Chapter viii, where the word " Sva-bhāva " is commonly misunderstood. [5] To return to the Yajñacakra, while the Akṣara or Para Brahman can legitimately be the last term of the causal series, if it has to come into relation with the creation, it has to descend from that lone height and become Apara Brahman or, as the BG. phrases it, Sarvagatam Brahman. This will explain the shift from the Akṣara to the Sarvagata-Brahman, which is rather a technical necessity not vitally connected with the Wheel. What is far more important is to note that this First Cause, howsoever named, which starts the wheel's rotation is " nityam yajñe pratisthitam " permeates and inspires all the several members of the series as their life and goal. The point can be fully brought out by taking an illustration of the Water-wheel, commonly furnished with a string of water-jars placed on the periphery, used in draw-

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[4] यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् । स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥
where *Sva* means not the individual's, but, preferably God's own.

[5] I may add that the above interpretation of " Sva-bhāva " was approved by Lokamānya Tilak in his reply to my review of the Gītārahasya. See the " Vividhajñānavistāra " of March 1918 for both the review and the reply.

ing up water from a deep well by rotating the wheel. As the wheel goes round, the full jars go up to empty the water in a reservoir, while the empty jars go down to fill up again. Now the activities of all these jars must be governed by a set common purpose, as no individual jar can have any motion unconnected with that of the rest. The individual jar has no purpose of his own to serve: it must be all the same to it whether it is going up full to empty, or going down empty to fill. Occasionally a jar might be even broken or have holes at bottom. Yet what little of the jar there may be, has to carry on the movement, because it has a part and a purpose in the scheme, and its refusal to go the round will cause the whole organism to stop. It will also be seen that there is no such thing as a higher or a lower in the jars. Each jar is in turn both the leader and the lead, thereby discountenancing any tendency for either self-exaltation or self depression. Each jar moves taking along with it (sam + graha) all the others. If one stops, all must, stop. There is no separateness of interest or purpose. All are held together by a common purpose, which is their " pratiṣṭhā ". The attitude of the jars in this water-wheel can fully bring out the " samatva ", the " akartṛtva ", the " asaṁgatva " of the ideal man of the Bhagavadgītā. The way in which the central conception and purpose of the Water-wheel actuates and guides the individual movements of the jars ought to be the way in which God should interpenetrate and regulate our entire being; and as Śrīkṛṣṇa, the God of the Bhagavadgītā, is himself an active God, to know the very truth of his origin and activity (cp. BG. iv. 9) and to follow in His foot-steps, is the perfection of the Karmayoga, the Jñānayoga, and the Bhaktiyoga all in one. And the way to achieve this is " to keep the Wheel of the Sacrifice ever on the move " !

Finally, it may be paranthetically added, that when so keeping the Wheel of the Sacrifice ever on the move, the individual would be correctly described as having no Karman (in the sense of an egoistic and fruit-motivated action) to do, and yet ever active (as carrying out God's own work), so that there is no need, with Garbe and his school, to regard stanzas iii. 9-16 as inconsistent with stanzas iii. 17-18, nor, with the followers of Śaṅkarācārya, to assume a sort of a dichotomy in the context, interpreting iii. 3-7 as being meant for the Jñānādhikārin, iii. 8-16 for the Karmādhikārin, iii. 17-18 for the Jñānādhikārin, and iii. 19-21 once more for the Karmādhikārin.

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ :

ITS TEACHING AND THE HARMONY OF ITS ADHYAYAS

Dr. P. M. MODI, B. A. Hons (Bom. Uni.), Zala Vedanta Prize-man (Bom. Uni.), M. A. (B. H. U.), PH D. (Kiel, Germany), Professor of Sanskrit, Samaldas College, Bhavnagar

It is proposed to discuss here the Central Teaching of the Bhagavadgītā and the mutual relation of its different Adhyāyas.

The question of the Central Teaching is an old one and a number of answers have already been offered.

Śankara, Rāmānuja and other Ācāryas and most of modern scholars hold that the aim of the Gītā Śāstra is the attainment of Mokṣa. But in the opinion of the present writer Gītā makes no effort to define Mokṣa unlike the works which aim at describing Mokṣa (Cf. the fourth Adhyāya of the Brahmasūtra). The Gītā has in fact no definite idea of the nature of Moksa (Cf अमृतत्वाय कल्पते, पदं गच्छन्त्यनामयम्, मम साधर्म्यमागताः, शान्तिमधिगच्छति, निर्वाणमृच्छति, etc.). It must, however, be stated here that according to *all* Hindu writers, Moksa is the ultimate aim of the human life and, so, the mention of Mokṣa does find a place in the Gītā, not as its Teaching, but as the goal of its Teaching.

Most of the modern interpreters and also ancient Ācāryas have laid emphasis on the *jñāna*, the philosophy taught in the Gītā. But to us it seems that the different Adhyāyas of the Gītā give different forms (प्रक्रियाs) of a philosophy which may be called *Advaitavāda* inasmuch as in no Adhyāya we meet with a statement of the *Dvaitavāda*. The efforts to identify the different principles in one Adhyāya with those of other Adhyāyas and to make out *ONE SYSTEM* of the entire Gītā, have not been successful because it was never intended by the author (or the re-editor) to present (only one प्रक्रिया of) any *one* System. The two प्रकृति s of Adh. VII, the two Avyaktas of Adh. VIII, the one प्रकृति of Adh. IX, the *Kṣetra* and *Kṣetrajña* of Adh. XIII, the *Mahad Brahman* of Adh. XIV, the Kṣara,

Akṣara and Puruṣottama of Adh. XV. may be compared with one another with the purpose of comparative study but to identify them with one another is risky and even impossible. The beginning of several Adhyāyas makes it clear that the teaching of each of these Adhyāyas is an independent one (Cf. VII. 1-2, VII. 29-30 and VIII. 1-2, IX. 1, X. 1, XIII. 1-2, XIV. 1, XV. 1-2). No where are we told that परा or अपरा प्रकृति, अव्यक्त, माया, क्षेत्र, महद् ब्रह्मन् are different names of the same principle. Moreover, certain Adhyāyas have no philosophical doctrine at all and the Gītā does not seem to insist on the necessity of the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the (exact) nature of God for the attainment of *siddhi* or liberation. The Gītā Says: Some one of those who *become siddha* or released from among those who attempt to get *siddhi* or release knows me in reality (Bha. Gī. VII. 3). All this in our opinion shows that to present any single definite philosophical doctrine was never the intention of the author of the Gītā. If the Gītā talks of प्रकृति it is, we believe, because we are to trace our activity and actions to that principle. When the Gītā mentions Adhiyajña, that Adhiyajña being one aspect of the Reality as taught in that particular Adhyāya (VIII) is the deity superintending over and enjoying all actions of a man which are therefore raised to the status of sacrifices offered to the Lord. When the Lord puts forth the doctrine of Puruṣottama, He is the Puruṣa from whom the Pravṛtti or the Activity of all beings, *i. e.*, that of the sun to *illuminate* the world, that of the Earth *to sustain* all beings moving on it, that of the moon *to nourish* the herbs, that of the Vaiśvānara (Fire) *to digest* the food, proceeds (यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानाम्, यतः प्रवृत्तिः प्रसृता XV. 4). Thus, the various philosophical doctrines taught in the various Adhyāyas of the Gītā are each of them a background to the life of action that one is to live in this world.

The present writer believes that the Central Teaching of the Gītā is its teaching about the Yoga *i. e.* 'Disinterested Action' (योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्) or in other words, Equanimity (समत्वं योग उच्यते). It is in this one sense that the Gītā is called 'योगशास्त्र', the Scripture of the Yoga and that each Adhyāya is called a particular Yoga. The title कर्मयोग (third Adhyāya) means 'Disinterested Action' based upon and through (a right understanding of the nature of) Action. The title ज्ञानकर्मसंन्यासयोग (4th Adh.)

means 'Disinterested Action' based upon and through (a right knowledge of) the renunciation of action through knowledge (Cf. IV 41-42 where the words संन्यस्तकर्माणं and ज्ञान occur). The aspect of the Yoga taught in Adhyāya VI is ध्यानयोग i. e., 'Disinterested Action' based upon Meditation. 'Disinterested Action' (योग) based upon (the knowledge) of the Lord's Manifestations (विभूतिs), His Viśvarūpa 'an All-Form of the Lord' (into which Arjuna visualises all the Heroes of the Mahābhārata entering even before he has killed them), and Devotion to Him are respectively the topics of the tenth, eleventh and the twelfth Adhyāyas. It seems to us that only in this sense of 'Disinterested Action' can an interpreter satisfactorily explain the titles of other Adhyāyas of the Gītā, like अर्जुनविषादयोग, क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोग, गुणत्रयविभागयोग, and दैवासुरसंपद्विभागयोग. The concluding verse of the Gītā (XVIII. 78) does not assure us of Mokṣa or Jñāna, but it definitely says that if and where Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of the Yoga ('Disinterested Action' or its aspects which also may be called Yoga) and Arjuna, the holder of the bow be both of them present, then, in that place will be unfailingly found Wealth, Victory, Prosperity and Righteousness (*nīti*).

For the above reasons, we believe, every Adhyāya teaches one Yoga, *i. e* one aspect or form of the Yoga 'Disinterested Action'. In our opinion, it is sufficient for a man to follow the teaching or योग of *any one* of the eighteen Adhyāyas, which may suit his temperament; and if he believes in it and practises it in this world, *i. e.* frames his conduct in his everyday life in harmony with that teaching, it will make him 'untainted' by the results of his actions (and thus he will attain Mokṣa, the goal of human life). A man may believe that all actions originate from the Prakṛti and its guṇas (Adh. III), or that all actions and their results do not proceed from the Lord but from *svabhāva* (Adh. V), or that the act of killing such as Arjuna had to do, or any other act, is really first done by the Lord and 'he is naught but a tool of the Lord' (Adh. XI), or he may, through a peculiar psychological bent of mind inspired by devotion, believe that he has *renounced* (not the results of his actions but) *the very actions* unto the Lord (XII. 6) or that all activity, *viz.* that of Earth *to sustain* the beings that move on it, that of the moon *to nourish* the herbs, that of the Vaiśvānara *to digest* the food, that of the Sun *to illuminate* the world,

originates from the Puruṣa (XV. 14, 13, 12) and hence he should surrender himself to the Puruṣa from whom all this Activity proceeds (XV. 4 B). Some of these beliefs may be, and really are mutually contradictory but, firstly, they are meant for different persons of different temperaments and, secondly, in different forms of the Advaita Doctrine, it matters little whether the action is believed to originate from प्रकृति or पुरुष or अधियज्ञ because all these are aspects of the same reality and it will not make a self-contradiction inasmuch as in any particular form (or प्रक्रिया = A Method of Advaita Philosophy) *only one* aspect of the Reality is believed to be the source of activity.

Several questions arising from the standpoint about the Central Teaching of the Gītā presented above, *e.g.*, how to explain the other titles of the Adhyāyas like सांख्ययोग have to be left out here undiscussed for want of space.

But the writer has to make it clear that in his opinion each succeeding Adhyāya of the Gītā does not proceed to clear some point left unexplained in a preceding Adhyāya, as Śaṅkara holds, or, in the immediately preceding Adhyāya, as Tilak tries to explain (Vide his chapter on गीताध्यायसंगति). It is not merely one kind of योग *viz.*, संन्यासयोग (according to Śaṅkara) or ज्ञानविशिष्टभक्तिप्रधानकर्मयोग (as Tilak says), that is taught in the Gītā. कर्मयोग is the title of *only one* Adhyāya of the Gītā *viz.*, the third Adhyāya So also the title Sannyāsayoga (Adh. V). It is also not the अनासक्तियोग, a name which no where occurs in the Gītā and in which the word 'अनासक्ति' is redundant because the very definition of योग defines योग as *Disinterested* Action (योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्, समत्वं योग उच्यते). But the Gītā teaches a number of aspects of योग 'Disinterested Action' and each Adhyāya teaches (at least) one such aspect.

It may be asked, "Does the Gītā teach no other Path to Mokṣa ?" Our reply is that while teaching the कर्मयोग aspect of योग the Gītā admits the Path of Renunciation (संन्यास, not संन्यासयोग) but prefers the former to the latter (Adh. III and V). Similarly, while teaching ध्यान as a basis of योग (Disinterested Action) and the consequent aspect of योग called 'ध्यानयोग' the sixth Adhyāya of the Gītā admits the utility of ध्यान and, along with it,

a life of renunciation of the world with the purpose of devoting oneself solely to concentration (ध्यान)—(Note सदा in VI. 28, 15; सततं रहसि स्थितः in VI. 10), but it does not fail to say that the योगिन need not necessarily take to *sannyāsa* (lit. he may live in any way सर्वथा वर्तमानोऽपि VI 31) and thus sticks to its Central Teaching of Disinterested Action. Similarly, a renunciation of the world accompanied and followed solely by भक्ति "Devotion" (Cf. अनिकेतः and सर्वारंभपरित्यागी in XII 19 and 16) is also admitted by the Gītā as a possible alternative Path to Mokṣa but at the same time it is stated that the *bhakta* may be one who comes into contact with persons, enemies or friends, but *remains only devoid of attachment* to the pairs of the cold and the hot, etc. (XII. 15, 18, vide XII 8-11 infra.). This yoga based upon *bhakti* is the clear teaching of Bha. Gī. XII. 6-8 (Vide infra.).

We shall conclude this paper by a translation of Bha. Gī. XII.8-11 and 12. The former (XII.8-11) brings out in our opinion the comparative value of *some* of the aspects of Yoga 'Disinterested Action', while the latter (XII.12) states the comparative value of the various Paths to Mokṣa.

Bha. XII.8-11—Place your mind in Me alone, fix your intellect on Me and, there is no doubt, you will live in Me alone after departure from this world. [This is the Yoga taught in v. 6-7 of this Adhyāya. It is and aspect of Yoga based upon *bhakti*. This is the most difficult of all the aspects of Yoga mentioned here and is therefore the first]. If you are not able to fix your mind firmly on Me, *then* try to reach Me by 'Disinterested Action' based upon *repeated practice* of *dhyāna*, as taught in Adhyāya VI. [This aspect is easier than the first one and is to be followed by one who cannot practise the former.] If you are unable even to make the repeated effort for concentration, be devoted to that aspect of 'Disinterested Action' in which you have to believe that you are naught but a tool of Mine and that you are doing duties on My behalf. [This is the third aspect of Yoga and it is taught in Adhyāya XI. Cf. मत्कर्मकृत in v. 55 of XI with निमित्तमात्रं भव सव्यसाचिन्.] You will attain Perfection even while you do your duties on My behalf. If, however, you are unable to do this after resorting to My Yoga (taught in Adh. XI), then, controlling your mind perform the renunciation of the fruit or the result of *all* actions (by attributing the actions to

the Prakrti and its gunas by attributing the same to the Lord, by dedicating the results to the Lord, or by any other suitable way). [This is the fourth aspect of Yoga and is taught in the third and other Adhyāyas of the Gītā.]

Bha. Gī. XII.12.—The above valuation of the four aspects of Yoga, 'Disinterested Action' is justified by the fact that (—This is the sense of हि in v.12—) for the achievement of Śānti or Peace, Philosophical knowledge (*jñāna*) is [quicker and] easier and hence better than repeated Practice of Concentration (abhyāsa or पातञ्जलयोग taught in Adh. VI), Devotion (ध्यान—verses 6–8 of XII) is (easier and hence) superior to knowledge (*jñāna*), the Renunciation of the results of actions is still easier than Devotion (because कर्मफलत्याग is the quickest Path as) the Śānti is immediately achieved by means of this Renunciation.

Here four Paths to Mokṣa are stated, the Path of Concentration [which would correspond to Pātañjala Dhyānayoga] is the most difficult one; the Path of Metaphysical Knowledge (probably leading to *sannyāsa*) is less difficult; the Path of Devotion (the word ध्यान to be compared with ध्यान v. 6-8) is still less difficult and the Path of कर्मफलत्याग *i. e.* Yoga is the easiest. The कर्मफलत्याग which is only one aspect of योग the Path of Disinterested Action is here given as the representative of the various aspects of the Path of Yoga, probably because here the theme under discussion is what is the easiest of all Paths and कर्मफलत्याग is the easiest of all the aspects of योग, as we have shown in our interpretation of verses 8-11. The absence of the word योग in V.12 should be carefully noticed.

We have attempted to present very briefly what seems to us to be the Central Teaching of the Gītā and the Harmony or the Mutual Relation of its Adhyayas.*

* The details of the arguments in support of my interpretation of the verses of the Gītā wherever it differs from the usual one are given in my edition of the Bhagvadgītā.

THE SUBLIME MAHĀYĀNA

DR. B. BHATTACHARYYA,
Baroda

The Original Buddhism

It is well known that the original Buddhism, or Buddhism first preached by Lord Buddha, passed through many vicissitudes in the long centuries after his Parinirvāṇa, and underwent many transformations and modifications at the hands of his talented disciples and followers. Scholars are now unanimous in their opinion that the pristine purity of the original Buddhism did not remain long to inspire and guide the Saṅgha, and that various sectarian differences brought in a new spirit, which eventually made Buddhism a World Religion followed by nearly a third of the population of this planet.

Schism in Aśoka's time

Almost immediately after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha, his sayings were carefully collected and chanted in daily assemblies and on special occasions. The Buddhists remained united and were content to follow the teachings of Buddha and obey the disciplinary regulations imposed on them by their Great Master. But in the time of Aśoka (circa 272-232 B. C.) this harmony was threatened by the advent of bolder spirits who wanted the disciplinary rules to slacken down on certain points. The older section among the Buddhists whom we know to be the Sthaviras did not like to make any concession of the points raised by the Mahāsāṅghikas, and thus there was a split which was destined to achieve tremendous results, though at the very moment, the schism very nearly shook the foundation on which the grand edifice of Buddhism was constructed.

The Four Great Schools

These two grand divisions of the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṅghikas were split up further into sections and sub-sections, and we hear of no less

than eighteen different schools of Buddhism in the time of Kanishka (c. 120 A. D.). In the third great Buddhist Council which was held in the life time of Kanishka these eighteen schools were brought under four main divisions, namely, the Sautrāntika, the Vaibhāṣika, the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools, and for a time it seemed that all difficulties were over. These four schools were again broadly divided under two main divisions which were subsequently known as the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna.

Distinction between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna

The distinction of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna is one of ideals, and verily, the ideals in the two cases were widely different. The Hīnayānist will be satisfied if he, by his meditation and by his religious practices, is able to obtain for himself the much-longed-for emancipation, or the freedom from the cycle of existence, and escape the miseries of constant births and re-births. Their ideal was personal egoistic Nirvāna, and no wonder that this mode of obtaining individual salvation was considered *low* by the other section whose ideals were very different and who were entitled to call themselves *high*. The Mahāyānist never cares for his own salvation; he cares more for the uplift of others than for his own. He renounces his own welfare for the benefit of others and devotes his entire energies for the salvation of others.

His ideal is not narrow Nirvāna but Omniscience. In order to obatin Omniscience he has to overcome very serious difficulties, namely, he has to remove two veils, which are named in Mahāyānistic works as, the Kleśāvaraṇa and the Jñeyāvaraṇa. The veil of the first kind, namely the veil of suffering can only be removed by having the wisdom which tells the Mahāyānist that the whole creation is nothing but Śūnya—a Śūnya which is not only immanent in the creation but also transcends it. The other veil which is called the Jñeyāvaraṇa, or the veil which covers the transcendental truth, can only be removed by a Mahāyānist and not by any one else, because in order to remove this veil, the Bodhisattva has to sacrifice everything, his own welfare, family, wealth, children, and what seems strange, his own merit gained through spiritual practices, for the benefit of others. He will not accept his own salvation even though

entitled to it, but employ his spiritual powers for the benefit of other beings, and strive for more and more powers in order that the quality of service rendered by him may improve a great deal.

Improvements on the original Buddhism

Many improvements were effected in the original teachings of Lord Buddha with the advent of the Mahāyānists. The status of a Buddhist in Mahāyāna became much more important and dignified, the ideals changed a great deal, the original and primitive Nirvāna was given a more rational and philosophical turn, and in short, Mahāyāna was moulded in a form which became most suited for a world religion. It satisfied everybody, the cultured and the uncultured, the intellectuals and the masses, and thus Mahāyāna became extremely popular. The Mahāyāna gave ample scope for individual thinking, freedom of thought, and unlimited power to speculate. Thus Mahāyāna developed into Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna, Kālacakrayāna, Bhadrayāna, and many other forms varying in the conception of the ideal and on the out-look of life in general.

The Status of a Mahāyānist

In the original Buddhism the followers were broadly divided into two classes, the Bhikṣus and the laity. The Bhikṣus used to live in the monasteries specially built for them, and the laity consisted of householders who were not admitted into the monasteries. Both these classes were combined under the one head Sangha or the congregation. They were members of the Order and nothing more. They were required to follow the different sets of rules prescribed for them, and if the rules were not strictly followed. members of the Order were to be expelled even as criminals. But in Mahāyāna there was a distinct change. Anyone entering the Order was to be called a Bodhisattva or 'one possessing the essence of Bodhi or enlightenment', or 'one who strives for the Bodhi'. In fact, a follower of Mahāyāna is of Bodhi essence, or a potential Buddha, and is entitled to be not only a Buddha but also something more,—he is entitled to be Omniscient—the goal of a Mahāyānist. The Bodhisattva by virtue of his spiritual attainments begins his upward march through the ten Bhūmis or heavens recognized in Mahāyāna, and when his march is complete and when he

reaches the goal he obtains Omniscience after removing the two veils of Kleśāvaraṇa and Jñeyāvarṇa referred to already. The status of a Mahāyānist is, therefore, immensely superior to that of a Hīnayānist in the original Buddhism. Thus we hear in Mahāyānist works[1] that the vehicle for obtaining enlightenment is one and that is Mahāyāna. The other Yānas like the Śrāvakayāna and the Pratyekayāna are but the ladders or stepping stones to Mahāyāna.

The Theory of Nirvāṇa

The conception of Nirvāṇa in the two Yānas may similarly be compared. In the original Buddhism when Buddha was asked to define Nirvāṇa he remained silent. When asked to describe the condition of an individual on the attainment of Nirvāna, Buddha similarly maintained a mystic silence. In the *Milinda Panho*, indeed, the most covetable prospect of obtaining Nirvāna is described, but the last word on the Hīnayānistic conception is given by Aśvaghoṣa in his now famous work the *Saundarananda Kāvya.*[2] There it is said that when the *lamp* is extinguished its flame travels neither to the four directions nor to the four intermediate corners, nor above nor below but simply becomes extinct because of the *oil* being exhausted. Even so, when an *individual* obtaine emancipation or Nirvāṇa he goes neither to the four directions nor to the four intermediate corners, nor in the higher religions nor in the lower, but he merely becomes extinct because his kleśa or *suffering* is exhausted. Now this is what Aśvaghoṣa could say about the glory of Nirvāṇa, but surely, even in his time people were not satisfied with this explanation. Nāgārjuna, the immediate disciple of Aśvaghoṣa, boldly defined Nirvāṇa as Śūnya, and described it as a condition about which neither existence, nor non-existence, nor a combination of the two nor a negation of the two can be predicated. Nāgārjuna was the propounder of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, and he could offer no better explanation of the condition of an individual in Nirvāṇa than this. A few centuries later Maitreyanātha arose and he added the element of Vijñāna in the conception of Śūnya, which meant that on the attainment of Nirvāṇa the individual does, neither get extinc-

[1] Compare *Advayavajrasaṅgraha* (G. O. Series No. XL) p. 21 lines 19-25.

[2] Ed. H. P. Shastri in the Bibliotheca Indica, 1910, p. 102.

tion as taught in primitive Hīnayāna, nor attains an impossible and unconceivable state as formulated in the Mādhyamika school, but retains his Vijñāna or consciousness; or, in other words, the individual becomes fully conscious that he has attained Nirvāṇa. This Vijñāna, and its introduction in the conception of Nirvāṇa was a great achievement in those days, because otherwise people would constantly question: Is it worth our while? Why leave all the enjoyments of life, all the luxuries provided by nature and men in order simply to obtain extinction, or to obtain a state which is inconceivable as advocated by Nāgārjuna? If the result of lifelong religious practices and observances of strict rules result in this, then why not be satisfied with our present lot and enjoy life as every one else does?

Nirvāṇa in Māhāyana, and Mahāsukha

Even in the 3rd or the 4th century A. D. there was further improvement in the conception of Nirvāṇa, and in the *Guhyasamāja* we find a new element introduced, and this new element is what is called by the Mahāyānists the Mahāsukha, that is to say, when an individual attains Bodhi or emancipation, he not only merges in Śūnya, but there remains also in full consciousness and enjoys eternal bliss and happiness. By this theory of Mahāsukha the scheme of Mahāyānist Nirvāṇa became complete, and the ideal of the Bodhisattva was made perfect and sublime. The achievement was so great that it tempted the best spirits among the Hindu philosophers to adopt the same ideal in their conception of Mokṣa or libertion. Many of my readers will remember the famous saying that calls Śaṅkarācāryya the great Vedāntin, a veiled Buddhist.

The Will to Enlightenment

The Citta of a Buddhist is called the Bodhicitta or the Will to Enlightenment in Mahāyāna. Any one entering the order has his will directed towards Enlightenment. This also gives a better status to a Mahāyānist than what was admitted in original Buddhism. The Bodhicitta is defined and described in many works of Mahāyāna but the series of descriptions of the Bodhicitta as given in the *Guhyasāmaja* seems to me to be of great value in understanding the sublime nature of the Bodhicitta,

and incidentally, of the Mahāyānist conception. There we come across the following definitions : [3]

(1) The Bodhicitta is such that it is bereft of all existence, and is unconnected with the Skandhas, Dhātus, and Āyatanas, and such thought-categories as the subject and the object, is without a beginning, and is of the nature of Śūnya like all existing objects which are really Śūnya in essence.

(2) Bodhicitta is that which is without substance like the sky, and which constantly thinks of the existing objects as without origin, and in which there are neither objects nor their qualities.

(3) The Citta which comprehends all existing objects as non-existent, and as bereft of the qualities of objects, but originates from the Śūnyatā of all worldly objects is called the Bodhicitta.

(4) The existing objects are naturally resplendent, and they are pure in essence like the sky. The Citta where there is neither enlightenment nor comprehension (abhisamaya) is called the Bodhicitta.

The Sublime Bodhicitta

The above quotations taken from a very authoritative work belonging to the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. will very well illustrate the sublime nature of the Bodhicitta as conceived by the Buddhists, and it was certainly a matter of satisfaction for all entrants to the order to be possessed of a Bodhicitta of this nature, which in near future was to lead them to final beatitude.

In this connection another very interesting passage from Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (8th century A.D.) may be quoted to show what ordinary people should understand by the term Bodhicitta. This quotation was taken by Śāntideva from an earlier but lost work, the Tathāgataguhyasūtra. The passage has been translated by Dr. M. Winternitz [4] thus :–

[3] Op. Cit. G. O. Series, No. 53, see introduction, pp. xxf.

[4] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Haraprasad Shastri Memorial Number, 1933, March, p. 2

Bodhicitta described

'In whom the Will to Enlightenment (*Bodhicitta*) arises, O Lord ?' He said: 'In that one, O great King, who has formed the unshaken resolve'. He said: 'O Lord, and who has this unshaken resolve ?' He said: 'He, O great King, in whom the Great Pity has arisen'. He said: 'In whom, O Lord, has the Great Pity arisen'. 'In him, O Great King, who does not desert any living being'. He said: 'In what way, Lord, is no living being deserted ?' He said: 'O great King, it is by renouncing one's own welfare'.

Anangavajra's views on Samsāra and Nirvāṇa

In this connection it will be interesting to refer to the view regarding the Samsāra and Nirvāṇa as propounded by the great Vajrayāna mystic Anaṅgavajra who, as I have shown elsewhere,[5] flourished circa 705 A.D. In his Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi (published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series as one of the *Two Vajrayāna Works*) we find him adumbrating[6] the doctrine of Saṁsāra and Nirvāṇa as two opposite conditions of the mind, or to be precise, 'citta'. He calls Saṁsāra as a condition of the Citta which is overwhelmed with the darkness arising out of numerous false constructions, is as fleeting as the lightning in a storm, and is besmeared with the dirt of attachment, etc. not easily removable. The opposite condition of the Citta which is resplendent with purity, is free from false constructions and the dirt of attachment, etc., which does not know and cannot be known, and is eternal, is what is known as the excellent Nirvāṇa. These two very clear and lucid expositions of the complicated problems of Saṁsāra and Nirvāṇa, in a great measure, point to the height the Vajrayānists had reached in the matter of transcendental philosophy.

The ideal of a Bodhisattva

The question of Bodhicitta leads us to another most fascinating topic in Mahāyāna which has continued to be an object of admiration all over the world. This is the ideal of a Bodhisattva sacrificing himself for the benefit of others. And if this vow is not taken by a Bodhisattva he

[5] *Two Vajrayāna Works*, introduction, p. xii

[6] Ibid, introduction, p. xvii

will not continue to be a Bodhisattva, and he will not be entitled to perform ordinary rituals and ceremonies. The Bodhisattva must be compassionate and he must possess Mahākaruṇā for all beings and should never think as to whether they exist or not. He should sacrifice his welfare and work for the uplift of others including human beings, ghosts and departed souls, and animals and insects, and only when every single being is delivered from the chains of bondage and of Saṁsāra, he is then entitled or willing to enjoy his emancipation. This conception of Compassion for suffering beings finds a lucid expression even in Tāntric works.[7] Compassion is defined as the determination on the part of the Bodhisattva to lead and finally to place all beings in Nirvāṇa including beings born from eggs, uterus perspiration, or beings endowed with shoes like horses, endowed with a formless or with consciousness or unconsciousness. Karuṇā is also expressed as a strong determination to diffuse right knowledge among people who owing to Tṛṣṇā (desire) are blinded by ignorance and cannot realise the continuous transmigration as caused by the act-force, in order that they may lead a life in accordance with the law of Dependent Origination.

The example of Avalokiteśvara

In order that every Mahāyāna follower may understand the sublime nature of its doctrines and its catholic principles, the ideal of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara the great Compassionate Bodhisattva is set up. This Bodhisattva had attained spiritual merit so as to deserve emancipation. He crossed the ten Bhūmis one after another and on the very top of the world structure or the peak of the Sumeru he was about to merge himself in Śūnya and attain salvation, and remain there in eternal bliss and happiness when some bewildering sounds penetrated his ears. By his omniscience he could at once discover that the people living on this earth are bewailing his loss since he is about to enter Nirvāṇa, and because after him there will be none to look after their spiritual welfare. The great compassionate Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara at once took a vow not to leave this Saṁsāra nor to obtain his well-earned emancipation but employ all his spiritual powers and merit for the uplift and welfare of all beings on the

[7] Compare *Sādhanamālā* (G. O. Series Nos. 26 and 41) Vol. II, introduction p. lxxix.

earth. In the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, a Sanskrit work describing the life and exploits of Avalokiteśvara, we read of Avalokiteśvara giving expression to his terrible determination ! 'Until all beings are delivered from this endless chain of sufferings, until all of them are placed in that excellent and final Bodhi, the vow of Avalokiteśvara will not be fulfilled'. 'Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva and the Great Being will instruct on Dharma to all beings, protect them and lead them on their way to Nirvāna'. 'He instructs on Dharma in the form of the Tathāgata to those who worship the Tathāgata ; he instructs on Dharma in the form of the Pratyeka Buddha to those who worship the Pratyeka Buddha...he instructs on Dharma in the form of Maheśvara to those who worship Maheśvara ; he instructs on Dharma in the form of Nārāyaṇa to those who worship Nārāyana...he instructs on Dharma in the form of a king to those who worship the king..he instructs on Dharma in the form of the father and the mother to those who worship the father and the mother.....'.

The production of perfect harmony in life

In the *Guhyasamāja* the assets of a man are considered to be three, namely, the Kāyā (body), Vāk (speech), and the Citta (mind) which are regarded as eternal without a beginning or an end. The Mahāyāna through its various sub-divisions is never tired of giving instructions on how to develop the powers of the body, speech and mind, be it through meditation, be it through Yoga or Haṭhayoga, or be it through the Tāntric practices or through the wealth of knowledge and religious inspiration. The Mahāyāna points out to ideals for every Bodhisattva, namely, compassion of all living beings, and renouncement of one's own welfare, and a world of ideals is set forth in these two conceptions. The three elements, body, speech and mind of every Bodhisattva should be guided by these two great ideals of compassion and renunciation in order that perfect harmony may be established in life, and men may be bound together by the sweet tie of this great world religion. What more is needed for a man when every action, every word and every thought of his gives expression to compassion and renunciation ; and in fact, what more is even needed for the society than these two ennobling qualities. From what has been said it can be easily discovered that Buddhism in its Mahāyāna phase

contained germs of a world religion because the doctrines have not a vestige of sectarianism in it. A religion like this which makes service as the greatest ideal and keeps it on the very forefront cannot fail to have a universal appeal, and there is no wonder that Buddhism—a purely indigenous product of India—penetrated beyond the limits of the great Himalayas to Tibet, China, Mongolia, Korea and Japan in the north, and beyond the seas to Burma, Ceylon, Java, Bali, Siam, Indo-China and other places in the south and south-east.

Teachings of the Indian religious systems

If I had enough space at my disposal I could have shown that the other religious systems of India, namely, Hinduism and Jainism, also taught on identical lines, and their teachings transcended the narrow sectarian spirit. In fact, our forefathers thought always on international lines, but never even on national lines. While formulating special religions they always looked to the welfare of humanity and not of a particular sect or a narrow circle. But I am going beyond the limited scope of this paper, as would be indicated by the title, and finally conclude by saying that from whatever angle I may view the doctrines of Buddhism, they always excite my admiration for—

THE SUBLIME MAHĀYĀNA.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS IN THE JAIN TANTRAS

Umakant Premanand Shah,
Baroda

The study of Indian Tāntric literature is fascinating, not only because of the novelty of the theme but also because of the bewildering variety of the topics discussed therein. The study is thus essential for a proper understanding of the vicissitudes through which Indian culture passed in its march through the ages. Belief in magic and miracle is both ancient and universal, but it was converted into a psychic science only in India. This science, known as Tāntrism, records the thoughts and customs of a vast majority of the people, and as such, it cannot be neglected in the reconstruction of our cultural history.

The scope of the present paper is, however, limited, in the sense that it does not deal with the Tantras in general, but only with spirits or pseudo-human beings, half gods, half devils, whom the Tantras seek to subdue or conquer. Information on the subject is available from the Hindu and Buddhist sources but the rôle of these spirits in Jain Tantras is little known. Here an attempt is made to supply the deficiency and to note the results of an elementary stúdy regarding the origin of these spirits, their functions, influences, the various rites prescribed for their propitiation, and the Jain deities connected with them.

From at least the first century onwards, if not earlier, Tāntrism began gathering momentum, and gradually it became so powerful that all the three main branches of thought, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism came strongly under its influence, and a great variety of rites and practices were introduced. Hindu and Buddhist Tantras attracted the attention of scholars long ago but the Jain Tantra received very little of it. Fortunately for us, a few texts have been published in the few years out of a large number that could be studied in the different manuscript libraries. A study of these texts, therefore, affords interesting comparisons

with similar beliefs and practices of the other two faiths, namely, Hinduism and Buddhism. An attempt is here made to study the cruel rites such as, *uccāṭana, krodhana, stambhana, etc.*,[1] especially connected with such evil spirits as the Bhūtas, Śākinīs, Piśācas, Yakṣas, and the like and the methods to subdue and conquer them and, incidentally, the rites for removing the effects of poison.

References to Bhūtas, Dākinīs, Piśācas and the like are widespread in the Āgamas which are regarded as the most ancient Jain texts.[2] According to these, gods are divided into four classes, one of them being the class of the Vyantara gods. These Vyantaras are again subdivided into eight classes, namely, Piśācas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras, Kiṁpuruṣas, Mahoragas and Gāndharvas.[3] Some of these were widely worshipped in ancient India as can be seen from the references to *caityas* or temples, images, yāgas and festivals in honour of Indra, Skanda, Nāga, Bhūta, Yakṣa, Rudra, Vaiśravaṇa and other deities.[4] Some of these deities

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1 Bhūta is invoked in *vaśya* rite also :
ॐ नमो भूताय (v. d. भूतेशाय) कामाय रामाय ॐ चुलुचुलु गुलुगुलु नीलभ्रमरि निलभ्रमरि मनोहरि नमः ॥ *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, 9.18 and commentary, p. 56

2 *Nāyādhammakahāo* (Vaidya's ed.), I.25, p. 23 for Bhūta; VIII. 74, p. 99 for Piśāca and a form of Tāla-Piśāca; *Sūtrakṛtānga*, 1.3.4; 1.2.2. 14; 16; *Praśnavyākaraṇa*, 1.3 for Dākinī and Bhairava

3 *Uttarādhyayana*, *SBE*, *vol. xlv*. pp. 225-6; *Tattvārtha sūtra*, 4.12; *Kirfel, Cosmographie Der Inder*, pp. 272ff

4 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, I. 25, p. 23; II. 41-2, pp. 48-9; *Antagaḍadasāo* (Āgamodaya Samiti's ed.), pp. 18ff; *Aupapātika sūtra*, 2; *Vivāga sūyam*, I. 7, p. 77. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 2.12

The problem of Yakṣas amongst these was specially studied by Dr. Coomaraswamy in his *Yaṣkas, I & II*. He has shown that the designation Yakṣas was originally practically synonymous with Devas and Devatās and no essential distinction could be made between Yakṣas and Devas. They possess the power of assuming any shape and are often kindly; they were also worshipped as tutelary deities and guardian angels and are *deities of vegetation closely connected with waters though their natural habitat is terrestrial*.

were approached with the desire of obtaining children.[5] This shows that some of them were benefic deities. Their malefic nature is, however, emphasised when the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* refers to the Asuras, Nāgas, Suparnas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Garuḍas and snake-gods as seducing a Nirgrantha from his creed.[6] Draupadī, in the story given by the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, felt that she was being kidnapped by some Deva, Dānava, Kiṁpuruṣa, Kinnara, Mahoraga or Gāndharva [7] It was believed that people were possessed by Skandas, Kumāras, Nāgas, Bhūtas or Yakṣas[8] and *Bhūta-vijjā* to ward off evil spirits was not unknown.[9] This belief in

In another place he writes, "Amongst the elements of Dravidian origin are probably the cults of the phallus and of the mother-goddess, Nāgas, Yaksas and other nature spirits.." *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 5. The attitude of the *Mahābhārata* (6.41.4) towards these deities is noteworthy: Men of Sāttvika class worship Devas, those of Rājasika class Yakṣas and Rākṣasas, those of Tāmasik class Pretas and Bhūtas.

5 *Nāyādhammakāhāo*, II. 42, pp. 49-50

6 *Sūtrakrtāṅga*, 2 2 76, *SBE. vol. xlv.* pp. 382-83

7 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, XVI, 128, p 186

8 *Jīvābhigama sūtra*, 111ṭḥ sūtra; *Sthānāṅga sūtra*, 2.69, 5 409; *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, 24ṭḥ sūtra, p. 120

In Hinduism, *Yakṣagrahas* are attendants of Skanda or Guha, a name which may be related to Guhyas, attendants of Kubera. See Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, I, p. 9.

9 *Vipāka sūtra*, I. 7, p. 74, refers to eight branches of Āyurveda, namely, *Kaumārabhiccam, Sālāge, Sallahatte, Kāyatigicchā, Jaṅgole Bhūyavijje, Rasāyaṇe, Vājikaraṇe*. See also *Sthānāṅga*, 8th sthāna Jaṅgole and Bhūyavijje are poison-cure and the cure of beings possessed by spirits. Compare also the famaus Buddhist Jāṅguli used against snakes and poisons.

The *Mahāniśītha sūtra* (7th adyayana) gives a vidyā which is to be muttered in the following calamities enumerated in the text :—

जलजलणदुट्ठसावयचोरनरिंदाहिजोगिणीण भए ।
तह भूयजक्खरक्खसखुद्दपिसायाण मार्गणम् ॥
कलिकलहविग्धरोहगकन्ताराडइसमुद्दमज्झे वा ।
दुच्चिन्तिय अवसउणे संभरियव्वा इमा विज्जा ॥

magical and malefic power of these evil spirits, widespread in ancient India gave rise to rites[10] for counteracting the evil influences of Bhūtas, Rākṣasas, Yakṣas and the like. This resulted in the creation of a special school of Tantra which may be called the Tantra of the Bhūtaḍāmara class.

Dr. B. Bhattacarya has discussed at length the Cult of Bhūtaḍāmara in Hinduism and Buddhism.[11] The Tantra dedicated to Bhūtaḍāmara shows that "the deity when invoked gives the worshipper the power to exercise all kinds of pseudo-human beings such as ghosts, demons, Piśācas, Nāgas, Kinnaras, Apsarasas, and so forth, and coerce them to submission in order that they may supply the worshipper with all the amenities of life."[12] Deities like the Kātyāyanīs, the Sundarīs, the Bhūtinīs, the Yaksinīs, the Kinnarīs, the Nāginīs are found paying their respects to Bhagavān Vajradhara in the Buddhist Tantra. Besides gods like Mahākāla, Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, and Gaṇeśa are found subdued in the Buddhist Tantra. Evidently, the attack was directed towards the Hindu deities.

The vidyā is—य् अम् एइजाणुआम । दणूएज्अम्णब्भाणइ । उम्म्एट्इम् । तइवइकेमउण आहुइए। हुइमेएव्वाण आगउ । इह । अएर् हउ । वउहुइम्महसओओ । अणओमवइद्एओ । अग्अम् । चउएहम् । वहृमुइक्खक् । अल् । अम् । घएहपइम् मअम् । Letters are here broken into consonants, vowels; my text is corrupt. With the help of other Mss., it would give a correct vidyā.

[10] The rites involving goblins of disaster and disease have a prominent place in the Gṛhya-sūtra rituals, *Pāraskara G. S*, I 16,23 f; texts sacred to Rudra, Rāksasas, Manes or Asuras were repeated, *Śānkhāyana, G. S.*, I. 10. 9; Disease, Yama, Vaśinī Vaiśravana, all the Bhūtas and all the gods are invoked in the initiation ceremony according to *Hiraṇyakeśin G. S.*, I. 2, 6, 5; for Piśāca of the womb and female spirits, see *ibid*, 6, 19, 7.

The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* I. 10 refers to Sarpaveda, Piśācaveda and Āsuraveda. Compare also *Śatapatha*, XIII. 4.3.

[11] *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 349-70. For sādhanas of Bhūtaḍāmara in Buddhism see, *Sādhanamālā, vol.* II, pp. 512 ff.

[12] *Ibid.*,, p. 354

Turning to the Jain Tantra, it may be said at the outset, that there is no such deity as Bhūtaḍāmara known to any of the extant Jain texts,[13] but the Jains certainly prescribe mantras and rites for subduing Bhūtas and the like.[14]

The famous *Ṛsimaṇḍala* attributed to Gautamasvāmī, the first disciple of Mahāvīra, prescribes, for example, the worship of the twenty-four Jinas in the *Hrīm-kāra*[15] along with the Eight Padas,[16] the Bhuvanendras, the Vyantarendras, the Jyotiṣkendras, the Kalpendras, saints who are possessed of *ṛddhis*[17] or supernatural powers, as also of the twenty-four Mahādevīs called S'rī, Hrī, Dhrtī, Laksmī, Gaurī, Caṇḍī, Sarasvatī, Jayā, Ambā, Vijayā, Klinnā, Ajitā, Nityā, Madadravā, Kāmabāṇā, Sānandā, Nandamālinī, Māyā, Māyāvinī, Raudrī, Kāpālinī, Kalā, Kālī, and Kalipriyā in the Tāntric *maṇḍala*.[18]

The text further gives the following formula:

देवदेवस्य यच्चक्रं तस्य चक्रस्य या विभा ।
तयाच्छादितसर्वाङ्गं मा मां हिंसन्तु **पन्नगाः** ॥ २८ ॥

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[13] In one case only do we find a deity called Uḍḍāmareśvara in the Digambara Jain Tāntric text *Vidyānuśāsana* (in Ms.).–

ॐ नमो भगवते उड्डामरेश्वराय कुंभी कुभी स्वाहा ।

[14] Compare for example:

निजोत्तमाङ्गामरभूधराग्रे संस्थापितः पार्श्वजिनेन्द्रचन्द्रः ।
क्षीराब्धिदुग्धेन सुरेन्द्रवृन्दैः स्वं चिन्तयेत् तज्जलशुद्धगात्रम् ॥
भूतग्रहशाकिन्यो ध्यानेनानेनोपसर्पन्ति ।
अपहरति पूर्वमर्जितमपि दुरितमेवेह ॥

Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa, 2.9-10

[15] Magic diagram of the shape of the letter ह्रीँ.

[16] The Eight Padas of *Arhat*, *Siddha*, *Ācārya*, *Upādhyādya*, *Sādhu*, *Jñāna*, *Darśana* and *Cāritra*. They also constitute members of the *Siddha-cakra* diagram, see, *Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa*, JISOA., Vol. IX, pl. iv. fig. 1.

[17] The *ṛddhis* are: Śrutāvadhi, Deśāvadhi, Paramāvadhi, Sarvāvadhi, Sarvauṣadhi, Anantabala, Rasa, Kṣetra, Akṣiṇa-mahānasa, and Vaikriya.

[18] For the text of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala*, see *Mahāprābhāvika-Navasmaraṇa* pp. 509 ff and *Ṛṣimaṇḍala-mantra-kalpa* edited by Pandit Manoharalal Shastri.

The same is to be addressed to each of the following spirits whose name is to be uttered in the place of पन्नगा. in the second line. These beings are: 1. Nāginī, 2. Gonasās (kind of snakes), 3. Vrścikas, 4. Kākinī, 5. Ḍākinī, 6 Yākinī, 7. Rākinī, 8. Lākinī, 9. Śākinī, 10. Hākinī, 11. Rākṣasas, 12. Bhairavas, 13. Bhekasas, 14. Kinnaras, 15. Vyantaras, 16. Devatās, 17. Taskaras, 18. Vahnis, 19. Śṛṅgīns, 20. Daṁṣṭrins, 21. Repalās, 22. Paksins, 23. Bhañjakas, 24. Toyadas, 25. Siṁhakas, 26. Śūkaras, 27. Citrakas, 28. Hastins, 29. Bhūmipas, 30. Śatrus, 31. Grāmins, and 32. Durjanas.

Thus the mystic *Ṛṣi-maṇḍala* and its magical light are supposed to protect the worshipper from injury from the above-mentioned group of terrestrial as well as supernatural beings.[19]

The chief deity in this worship is the Arhat-like Buddha (as Vajradhara) in the Buddhist Bhūtadāmara Tantra—whose mystic light affords protection from these earthly and semi-divine beings.[20]

It may also be noted that the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala-yantra* includes names of certain well-known deities of the Brahmanical pantheon, such as Kālī, Kāpālinī, Raudrī, Gaurī, Caṇḍī, Māyā, Klinnā and Nityā and that they are assigned a subordinate position.[21] The principal figure in all cases is the Arhat or the Tīrthaṅkara.

Of the beings that are mentioned as subdued by the magic light of the Lord of Lords or the Jina, the goddesses Śākinī, Kākinī, Lākinī, Rākinī, Hākinī, Ḍākinī and Yākinī are invoked as deities of the *muladhāra, svādhi-*

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[19] Compare also:

भूतैः प्रेतैः ग्रहैर्यक्षैः पिशाचैर्मुद्गलैस्तथा ।
वातपित्तकफोद्रेकैर्मुच्यते नाऽत्र संशयः ॥

Ṛsimaṇḍala-stotra, verse 78

[20] Cf. दुर्जना भूतवेतालाः पिशाचा मुद्गलास्तथा ।
ते सर्वे उपशाम्यन्तु देवदेवप्रभावतः ॥ Ibid., V. 71.

[21] Kālī is both a yakṣī and a vidyādevī in Jainism, while Nityā is a variety of Padmāvatī according to Digambara Tantras. Gaurī also figures as a Jain yakṣī as well as a Jain vidyādevī.

sthāna, *maṇipūra*, *anāhata*, *viśuddhi*, *ājñā* and *jālandhara cakras* in the Brahmanical texts on Yoga.[22]

Special kalpa works on the Ṛṣimaṇḍala were also composed by followers of both the Digambara and the Śvetambara sects, but the same diagram is described in all the Jain texts. The Ṛṣimaṇḍala has been widely worshipped, and as it is common to both the sects it certainly represents an old tradition although the date of its composition is uncertain. The stotra is usually attributed to Gautama but it was certainly not composed by him as can be seen from a reference to Gautama himself in the stotra.

Indranandi, a Digambara writer, composed in 939 A. D., a Tāntric work entitled, the *Jvālinī-mata* based on an earlier work of Helācārya. In this work the author refers to various kinds of *grahas* or spirits that take possession of human beings with a view to enjoy pleasures of life or to obtain offering or to kill them. Male spirits generally take possession of females and females the males. The male grahas are of seven classes, namely, Deva, Nāga, Yakṣa Gandharva, Brahmarākṣasa, Bhūta and Vyantara[23] The female grahas are Kālī, Karālī, Kankālī, Kālarākṣasī, Janghī, Pretāśinī, Yakṣī and Kṣetravāsinī.[24] Names of Brahmanical yoginīs are discernible in this list.[25] The goddess Jvālinī or Jvālā-mālinī is invoked for subduing various malefic grahas The *Jvālinī-mata* gives sādhanas for various Tāntric rites including the *stambhana* of these malefic grahas.[26]

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[22] *Ṣoḍhā-kalpa* quoted by *Śrī-Tattvanidhi*, pp. 11-12, *Ṣaṭ-cakranirūpaṇa*, pp. 13, 26, 29, 32, 40, 42. See also, *Yoginīhṛdaya*, 2. 60, where Ḍākinī and others are called superintending deities of त्वक्, अमृक्, मांस, मेद, मज्जा and शुक्र. For an interesting discussion on Ḍākinīs etc., see Dr. P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, vol. I, pp. 49-50.

[23] Symptoms of each of these as also the remedies are narrated.

[24] काली तथा कराली कङ्काली कालराक्षसी जङ्घी ।
प्रेतासिनी (? प्रेताशनी) च यक्षी चैताश्च क्षेत्रवासिनी चेति ॥ ११ ॥

Jvālinī-mata, 2. 11

[25] *Rudrayāmala* quoted by *Śrī-Tattvanidhi*, p. 29

[26] ॐ ज्वालामालिनि ह्रीं ह्रीं ब्लूं द्रां द्रीं क्ष्म्ल्व्र्यूं क्षां हाः दुष्टग्रहान् स्तम्भय हा अः क्रों क्षीं ज्वालामालिन्याज्ञापयति ठः फट् घे घे । Ibid., chapter 3

The Vidyānuśāsana also refers to these grahas. It also deals with another class of spirits. They are the *pūtanās* or *grahīs* who possess a child from the day of its birth upto its sixteenth year.[27] The text also gives another tradition, attributed to Pūjyapāda and a third one attributed to Rāvaṇa. An interesting parallel of this belief in spirits possessing children is found in works on Āyurveda and Hindu Tantras.[28]

There is a class of grahas known as *Jvālā-gardhabhas* described in the Vidyānuśāsana and the *Jagatsundarī-prayogamālā* of Muni Jasavai. They are ten in number and special mantras for each of them are prescribed.[29] Pārśvanātha or Rudra Mahākāla is invoked in these mantras to counteract the evil influences of the Jvālā-gardhabhas.[30]

The Jvālinī-mata also prescribes a rite wherein earthern heads of Kālī, Mahākālī, Mālinīkanyā, Kaṅkālī, Kālarākṣasī, Varajaṅghī, Śrī-Jvālinī,

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[27] The list includes names like Mandanāsā, Bhadrā, Cāmuṇḍā, Kumārī, Maheśvarī, Ḍākinī, Ambinī, Revantī, Capalā, Rohinī, Ugra-cāmuṇḍā, Rākṣasī, Caṇḍā, Bhairavī etc. These are also called Piśācikās in the text.

[28] Kāśyapasaṁhitā, बालग्रहचिकित्साध्याय, pp. 66 ff, note the connection of स्कन्द with बालग्रह; Bālatantram of Kalyāṇa Vaidya, 7 to 11 patalas. *Kalyāṇakāraka* of Ugrādityācārya, (Jain work on Āyurveda), pp. 443 ff, *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, Uttaratantra, 28th adhyāya

[29] The Jvālāgarddabhas are: Kapila, Gaura, Mrtyukāla, Piṅgala, Vijaya, Kalahapriya, Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, Candrahāsa, and Durdhara. Cf:

खरांडचर्मरक्तेन कुर्यात्करंरसंयुजा ।

छिंद्यात्गर्धभमालेख्य मंत्रेणानेन भूतले ॥ ४६ ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते पार्श्वचन्द्राय छिंद२ चंद्रहासखड्गेन जिनवचनमनुस्मरामि ॥

—*Vidyānuśāsana*, 13th samuddeśa; *Jagatsundarī—prayogamālā*, pp. 35 ff

[30] The following mantras may be noted:

ॐ नमो भगवते जिनरुद्राय जिनवासुदेवाय शंखचक्रमुद्गरहस्ताय वनमालाधरदेहाय सुदर्शनचक्रेण छिंद२ नमः स्वाहा ।

ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय महाकालाय कड्ड२ छिंद२ चंद्रहासखड्गेन स्वाहा ।

Vidyānuśāsana, 13th samuddeśa

Vikarālī and Vaitālī with sharp, long teeth and nails, bloodshot eyes and protruding tongues are to be worshipped with offerings by turns, every day.[31] It is remarkable that these names are also found in the list of sixty-four yoginīs given in the Rudrayāmala.

Again Vīreśvara, Baṭuka, Pañcaśiras, Vighnanāyaka and Mahākāla are to be similarly propitiated. Earthern heads of this latter group are fierce in appearance, have three eyes, and lights are placed above their crowns.[32] Vīreśvara and Baṭuka are famous Śaivite figures of the Bhairavas; Vighnanāyaka is the name of Gaṇeśa and Pañcaśiras and Mahākāla are also forms of Śiva himself. The text, moreover, says that these deities, worshipped properly with *bali*, remove miseries due to planetary afflictions, spirits (*grahas*) and disease.

Next comes Vāgīśvarī, another Hindu goddess.[33] The worshipper has to prepare a form with sharp bare fangs and protruding tongue, three eyes and terrific appearance. Worship of the form with *khaḍga-mantra* results in removing all mishaps.

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[31] काळी च महाकाळी मालिनीकन्या तथैव कंकाली ।
कालराक्षसी वरजङ्घी श्रीज्वालिनी चैव ।
विकराली वैताळी इत्येतासां दिव्यदेवनानां तु ।
कृत्वा मुखानि लक्षणयुक्तानि सुसिद्धमृत्तिकया ॥
तीक्ष्णोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्राणि वृत्तनयनानि लुठितजिह्वानि ।
कुसुमाक्षतमलयजदीपबहुभक्ष्ययुक्तानि ॥ Jvālinī-mata, 9th section

[32] वीरेश्वरश्च बटुकः पञ्चशिरा विघ्ननायकश्च ।
महाकालश्चेत्येषां मुखानि पिष्टेन कार्याणि ॥
उग्राणि लोचनत्रययुतानि मूर्धस्थदीपानि ।
बहुभक्ष्यकुसुममलयजसुगंधदीपादिसहितानि ॥
तेनैकैकेन निवर्धयेन्मुखेनेन्द्रवैरिमंत्रेण ।
ग्रहरोगमहापीडामपहरति बलिर्जले क्षिप्तः ॥ Op. cit.

[33] तीक्ष्णोन्नतसितदंष्ट्रं विलुलितजिह्वं त्रिनेत्रमनुपमकम् ।
पिष्टेन कारयेद्विकरालं वागीश्वरीरूपम् ॥
रूपेण तेन बहुभक्ष्यचरुकवरदीपधूपसहितेन ।
कुर्याद्विवर्धनं सकलदोषहृत्खड्गमंत्रेण ॥ Op. cit.

Then comes the worship of Yoginikā, Divyamātā, Siddhayoginī, Janeśvarī, Pretāsanī and Śākinī. This rite, we are told, has been preached by Jvālinī and results in removing the danger of *graha, bhūta, Śākinī* and *apamṛtyu*[34] These deities are found in such Hindu texts as the Rudrayāmala which calls them yoginīs.

Another text devoted to Jvālinī is the *Vajrapañjarārādhanā*, yet unpublished, of unknown authorship The Vajrapañjara yantra is effectively used against thieves, enemies, epidemics, *Śākinis, duṣṭa-grahas, rākṣasas, bhūtas, pretas*, and the like.

Vidyānuśasana, composed in c. fifteenth century, borrows freely from the Jvālinī-mata while discussing the afflictions by spirits. In the section on rites for the destruction of these evil influences, it also gives a *Cāmuṇḍā-mantra* in connection with the *bhūta-grahas*[35] and magic formula (*mantra*) of Mānibhadra for the propitiation of the grahas. In one formula Māṇibhadra is called terrific in appearance (*bhairava*), black in colour, with red lips and bare fangs, three eyes and four arms (showing) the noose, the goad, the fruit and the varada mudra), ear-ornaments of snakes, and wearing the sacred thread.[36] At the bidding of Candranātha (the eighth Jina), Jvālā-mālinī, Pārśva (who is given the epithets *caṇḍa* and *ugra*), Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī, Mānibhadra is requested to dsetroy the Nāgas, Yaksas, Gandharvas, Brahmarāksasas, Bhūtas and Piśācas.

The text above referred to also invokes the yakṣi Ambikā for a similar purpose, and a *Ceṭaka-mantra* given in another section of the work is also intended for the same purpose. This latter formula is interesting as it invokes Ceṭaka who is also called *Umā-labdha-vara-prasāda*, who holds

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34 ममविधो नीराजनविधिरेषो ज्वालिनीसमुद्दिष्टः ।
ग्रहभूनरोगशाकिन्यपमृत्युभयापहृत्सच: ॥ op. ct.

35 ॐ नमश्चामुंडे हंसगे वर्म्मणोदमनो (?) हुं हन्$_2$ हुं फट् ठः ठः ।

36 ॐ नमो भगवते हल्व्रू ह्रां ह्रीं ह्रू ह्रौ ह्रः माणिभद्रदेवाय भैरवाय कृष्णवर्णाय रक्तोष्ठाय उग्रदंष्ट्राय त्रिनेत्राय चतुर्भुजाय पाशाङ्कुशफलवरदहस्ताय नागकर्णकुण्डलाय शिखायज्ञोपवीतमंडिताय ... . चंद्रनाथ–ज्वालामालिनी–चण्डोग्रपार्श्वतीर्थंकर–धरणेन्द्रपद्मावती–आज्ञादेव–नागयक्षगंधर्व-ब्रह्मराक्षसभूतादीन् ... ... सर्वग्रहान् आवेशय$_2$ ... ... सहस्रकोटिपिशाचराजानाकर्षय$_2$ किन्नरकिंपुरुषगरुडगांधर्वयक्षराक्षसभूतपिशाचान् आकर्षय$_2$ ... ... स्वाहा ॥

the *khaṭvāṅga*, the *vajra*, the noose, the goad, the *gadā*, and the *mudgara* and who is terrific in appearance. Ceṭaka is asked to break and destroy the residences of the Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Bhūta, Preta, Piśāca, Ḍākinī and others, to pound these beings and to drink their blood and eat flesh from their bodies.[37] It is to be noted that Rudra is here invoked and asked to order his Ceṭaka or slave.

Śiva is invoked against Bhūtas in the Śvetāmbara Tantra also, as can be seen from the commentary of Pārśvadeva-gaṇi on the Padmāvatī-aṣṭaka, verse 4.[38] His Brahmanical form is fully retained when he is invoked as Paśupati or Rudra, with the whole body besmeared with ashes from the cremation ground, the garland of *ghaṇṭā-kapāla* and a tiger-skin covering the body, the top of his head shining with the crescent, and wearing a sacred thread in the form of a snake.

Bhairavas and Yoginīs are well known as the attendants of Śiva and their presence in the Jain Tantra betrays foreign influence. They do not appear to have been wholly borrowed from the Brahmanical pantheon. Yoginī Kurukullā, for example, is a Buddhist deity. At this stage it will be enough to note that this type of worship is not purely Jain. In Jainism, we find the Bhairavas and Yoginīs as the associates of the Kṣetrapāla,

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37 ॐ नमो भगवते रुद्राय उमाचेटकमाविर्भविष्यापचेटक (?) निहनोच्छिष्टभक्षणविषयलालाप्रिये किलि-किलितमानंगमैशानवासिने हरहसितउमालब्धवरप्रसादखट्वंगकरशिरोज्वलितनेत्रसर्गकृतकुण्डलाभरण-भूषितविकटोत्कटदंष्ट्राकरालवदन ल ल ल भूतविद्रावण यक्षराक्षसकृतभूतप्रेतपिशाचडाकिनीनां भयङ्कर वज्रहस्त ऐरावतपराक्रम पाशाङ्कुशमुद्गरप्रहरण भो चेटक ... ... रुद्राज्ञापयति स्वाहा ॥

Vidyānuśāsana, 8th chapter

38 ॐ नमो भगवते पशुपतये नमो नमोऽधिपतये नमो रुद्राय ध्वंस२ खड्गरावण चल२ विहर२ सर२ नृप२ स्फोटय२ स्मशानभस्मनार्चितशरीराय घंटाकपालमालाधराय व्याघ्रचर्मपरिधानाय शशाङ्काङ्कितशेखराय कृष्णसर्पयज्ञोपवीताय ... ... अनवर्निकपिलिनि हन२ भूतप्रेतं त्रासय२ .. ... देवि ... ... रुद्रो आज्ञापयति ठः ठः ठः स्वाहा ॥

Raudrī is invoked in one yantra on the Bhayahara-stotra :—

ॐ त्रिशूलिनीं प्रेतकपालहस्तां नृमुण्डमालावलि...कङ्कणाम् ।
कृतान्त्रहारां रुधिरौघसंप्लुतां त्वामेव रौद्रीं सततं स्मरामि ॥

Jaina-stotra-saṁdoha, II, p. 15

rather than of Śiva. Along with the fifty-two Vīras[39] they are worshipped in the *devī-maṇḍala* of the Ācāra-dinakara[40] and in a magic circle of Padmāvatī according to the Padmāvatī-pūjanam ascribed to Indranandi.[41] Lists of these deities are found in the Ācāra-dinakara composed in 1468 V. S.

A manuscript of *Catuḥ-ṣaṣṭi-yoginī* preserved in Śri Hamsavijayaji's collections, Baroda gives another list of the Yoginīs.[42] The date and author-

[39] They are: Ksetrapāla, Kapila, Batuka, Narasimha, Gopāla, Bhairava, Garuḍa, Raktasuvarna, Devasena, Rudra, Varuṇa, Bhadra, Vajra, Vajrajaṅgha, Skanda, Kuru, Priyaṅkara, Priyamıtra, Vahni, Kandarpa, Haṁsa, Eakajaṅgha, Ghantāpatha, Dajaka, Kāla, Mahākāla, Meghanāda, Bhīma, Mahābhīma, Tungabhadra, Vıdyādhara, Vasumitra, Vıśvasena, Nāga, Nāgahasta, Pradyumna, Kampilla, Nakula, Ālhāda, Tıimukha, Piśāca, Bhūtabhaırava, Mahāpiśāca, Kālamukha, Śunaka, Asthimukha, Retovedha, Śmaśānacara, Kalıkāla (v. l Kelikāla), Bhṛṅga, Kaṇṭaka and Bibhīṣaṇa—*Ācāradınakara*, II, pp. 208-9

[40] The Bhairavas are . Bhaırava, Mahābhairava, Candabhairava, Rudrabhairava, Kapālabhairava, Ānandabhairava, Kankālabhairava, and Bhairavabhairava. The Kṣetrapāla is surrounded by these eight Bhairavas—*Ibid.*, p. 209. Some of these are found in the Hındu lists also, cf. *Śrī Tattvacintāmaṇi*, xviii, 339, p. 668 giving a lıst of eight Bhairavas and *Rudrayāmala* quoted by *Śrī-Tattvanıdhi*, p. 89 giving a list of sixty-four Bhairavas.

The sixty-four Yogınīs are: Brahmānī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Śāṅkarī, Indrāṇī, Kaṅkālī, Karālī, Kālī, Mahākālī, Cāmuṇḍā, Jvālāmukhī, Kāmākhyā, Kāpālinī, Bhadrakālī, Durgā, Ambikā, Lalitā, Gaurī, Sumangalā, Rohiṇī, Kapilā, Śūlakatā, Kuṇḍalinī, Tripurā, Kurukullā, Bhairavī, Bhadrā, Candrāvatī, Nārasimhī, Nıratījanī, Hemakānti, Pretāsanī, Īśvarī, Māheśvarī, Vaiṣnavī, Vaināyıkī, Yamaghaṇṭā, Harasiddhi, Sarasvatī, Totalā, Caṇḍī, Śaṅkhinī, Padminī, Citrinī, Śākinī, Nārāyaṇī, Palādinī, Yamabhaginī, Sūryaputrī, Śītalā, Krṣnapāśā, Raktākṣī, Kālarātrī, Ākāśī, Srsṭiṇī, Jayā, Vijayā, Dhūmravarnī, Vegeśvarī (? Vāgīśvarī), Kātyāyanī, Agnihotrī, Cakreśvarī, Mahāmbikā and Īśvarā.—*Ācāradinakara*, II, p 207

[41] *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa*, appendix II, p. 16. The text does not give a list of them.

[42] They are: Divyayogī, Mahāyogī, Siddhiyogī, Janeśvarī, Pretākṣī,

ship of the Baroda manuscript are not known but if the list given by it represents a late Jain tradition, it is in the main a borrowing from the list given by the Rudrayāmala. The list in the Ācara-dinakara represents genuine Jain tradition, and offers an interesting study, in as much as it prescribes the worship, though in an inferior position, of the famous Brahmanical goddesses.

The Vidhimārgaprapā of Jinaprabha-sūri, composed in 1363 V.S., gives another list of the sixty-four Yoginīs.[43] The author of this work adds that the Yoginīs enumerated in the work can assume various forms at will and bestow favours when propitiated. This aspect of the worship of the Yoginīs and Vīras as also of the Bhairavas does not in the least suit the Jain atmosphere In the middle ages the Tantras were in a process of assimilation both in the South and in the North and the worship of the Bhairavas and Yoginīs by the Jains may be a direct outcome of this process when the angularities of the different systems of the Tantras tended to become less and less prominent.

Ḍākinī, Kālī, Kālarātrī, Niśācarī, Huṁkārī, Siddhi, Vaitālī, Klīṁkārī, Bhūtadāmarī, Ūrdhvakeśī, Mahākālī, Śuṣkāṅgī, Narabhojinī, Fūtkārī, Vīrabhadreśī, Dhūmrākṣī, Kalahapriyā, Rākṣasī, Ghoraraktākṣī, Virūpākṣī, Bhayaṁkarī, Vairī, Kaumārikī, Candī, Durmukhī, Pretavāhanī, Kaṇṭakī, Dīrghalambosthī, Mālanī, Mantrayoginī, Kālāgnī, Mōhanī, Cakrī, Kaṅkālī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Kuṇḍalā, Jalakī, Lakṣmī, Yamadūtī, Karatāpanī, Kośakī, Bhakṣiṇī, Yakṣakaumārī, Yantravāhanī, Viśālā, Kāmakī, Vyāghrī, Yakṣiṇī, Pretabhakṣanī, Durjaṭī, Kīkaṭī, Ghorī, Kapālā and Viṣālāṅgulī.

43 The Vidhiprapā must be regarded as giving a genuine Jain tradition, like the Ācāra-dinakara noted above. According to this work the Yoginīs are: Vārāhī, Vāmanī, Garudī, Indrāṇī, Āgneyī, Yāmyā, Nairṛtī, Vāruṇī, Saumyā, Īśānī, Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Maheśvarī, Vināyakī, Śivā, Śivadūtī, Cāmuṇḍā, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Harasiddhi, Kalikā, Candā, Sucaṇḍā, Kanakanandā, Sunandā, Umā, Ghaṇṭā, Sughaṇṭā, Māṁsapriyā, Āśāpurā, Lohitā, Ambā, Asthibhakṣī, Nārāyaṇī, Nārasiṁhī, Kaumārī, Vāmaratā, Aṅgā, Vaṅgā, Dīrghadaṁṣṭrā, Mahādaṁṣṭrā, Prabhā, Suprabhā, Lambā, Lamboṣṭhī, Bhadrā, Subhadrā, Kālī, Raudrī, Raudramukhī, Karālī, Vikarālī, Sākṣī, Vikaṭākṣī, Tārā, Sutārā, Rajanīkarā, Rañjanī, Śvetā, Bhadrakālī, and Kṣamākarī.—*Vidhiprapā*, pp. 116-117

According to the Śvetambara tradition, Jinadatta-sūri subdued the Yoginīs and obtained various siddhis or supernormal powers from them in the twelfth century A.D [44]

Another deity connected with the subduing of S'ākinīs, Ḍakinīs, Yoginīs, and the Bhūtas is Sugrīva Vānararāja. Pārśvadeva-gani, the Śvetambara Tāntric, gives mantra for Sugrīva wherein the latter is described as showing the *khatvāṅga* the trident, the *damaru*, and the varada mudra. All his hair are plucked out. The subduer of all Dākinīs, Sugrīva is described as terrific in appearance. [45]

Padmāvatī, the attendant yakṣī of Pārśvanātha, is more popularly worshipped in rites against Bhūtas, Ḍākinīs and such other spirits. The Adbhuta-padmāvatī-kalpa, for example, gives a long mantra for the terrific form of Padmāvatī–known as *Bhairava Padmāvatī* [46]–wherein she is described

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[44] तत्पट्टेऽभूच्चतु·पष्टियोगिनीनां प्रसाधकः ।
युगप्रधानतामाप्तः सूरिः श्रीजिनदत्तराट् ॥
यन्नाममंत्रस्मरणात्सम्प्रत्यपि विलोक्यते ।
तडिद्घातादिकष्टौघो ध्वस्यमानः क्षणाद्भुवि ॥

Sambodhasaptatikā-vrtti, praśasti, verses 9-10

[45] ॐ नमो सुग्रीवाय ह्रौं खट्वाङ्गत्रिशूलडमरुहस्ते विसर्त.क्षगकराले वटेलानलकपोले लुञ्चित-केशकलापे वरदे अमृतशिरलाले गण्डे सर्वडाकिनीनां वशङ्कराय सर्वमन्त्रछिन्दिनीलये आगच्छ भगवति (?) त्रिशूलं लोलय २......स्वाहा ॥ शाकिनीनां निग्रहमंत्रः ॥
Jaina-stotra-saṁdoha, I, app. gha, p. 83 (Commentary of Parśvadeva-gaṇi on the Padmāvatī-aṣṭaka.)

Cāmuṇḍā is sometimes associated with Sugrīva in the mantras; cf.
ॐ नमो सुग्रीवाय वार्पिकसौम्यवचनाय गौरीमुखी देवी शूलिनी हूं२ चामुण्डे स्वाहा । or
ॐ नमः सुग्रीवाय नमश्चामुण्डे तद्विकाशो ग्रहविशति हन२ भज मोहय२ रोषिगी देवी सुस्वप स्वाहा । प्रोच्छेदने विद्या ॥
or Ibid., pp. 83-84

Sometimes मत्तमातङ्गिनी is invoked along with Sugrīva; cf: ॐ नमः सुग्रीवाय भो भो मत्तमातङ्गिनी स्वाहा ॥ मुद्रिका मंत्रः ॥ Ibid., p. 83.

The Vidyānuśasana also invokes Sugrīva-ॐ नमो भगवते सुग्रीवाय वानरराजाय कपिल-दंष्ट्राय हरिहरब्रह्माभ्यर्चितपादारविंदाय लंकापुरेशाय निर्धूमधूमाय ॥
Vidyānuśāsana, kalikuṇḍa-kalpa

[46] Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa, appendix 1, pp. 13-14

as the subduer of Kāla, Vyāla, Vetāla, Kaṅkāla, Bhūta, Piśāca, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Gandharva, Kinnara, Uragendra and Graha. She is also said to have subdued the sixty-four Yoginīs. She is like a spade that uproots the Ḍākinīs and Jākinīs, destroys the ego of the Rākinīs and Lākinīs and all the families of Hākinīs and Jākinīs.[47] Another long formula given by Pārśva-deva-gaṇi in his commentary on the Padmāvatī-aṣṭaka is also intended for the destruction of evil spirits and thieves, epidemics, tigers, reptiles, diseases etc.[48] This formula is noteworthy as it includes some of the patent ancient mystic *bījas* like *hili, mili, kili, sulu, mulu, kulu.*[49] It may also be noted that the Padmāvatī-aṣṭaka gives the names of Bhṛṅgī, Kālī, Karālī, Caṇḍī and Cāmuṇḍī as members of the Padmāvatī-group.[50]

The Laghuśānti-stava of Mānadeva-sūri invokes another goddess called Vijayā (along with Jayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā) for protection from spirits, calamities etc..The same goddess is invoked by the Ācāra-dinakara for obtaining *śānti* or freedom from all these calamities.[51] The Digambara text Vidyānuśāsana invokes a goddess called Vijaya-devī for a similar purpose. She may be identical with the goddess *Cakreśvarī*, well known to ancient Jain traditions.[52]

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47 The printed text gives Jākinīs, it may be Yākinīs.

48 *Jain-Stotra-saṁdoha*, I, appendix gha, pp. 90-91

49 *hili* is found in a Sugrīva-mantra, also, in the Mātaṅginī-vidyā (Śiva-nāga's *Pārśvanātha-stotra, Jaina-stotra-saṁdoha*, I, p. 73); *Kili* in a mantra of Kalikuṇḍa-Pārśvanātha (ibid, p. 78). A study of such bījas would be interesting.

50 भृङ्गी-काली-कराली-परिजनसहिते चण्डिचामुण्डिनित्ये
क्षाँ क्षीँ क्षूँ क्षौँ क्षणार्द्धक्षतरिपुनिवहे ह्रीँ महामन्त्रवश्ये।

—*Padmāvatī-aṣṭaka*, verse 4

51 *Mahāprābhāvika-Navasmaraṇa*, ed. by Syt. Sarabhai Nawab, appendix 1, pp. 509 ff; Ācāra-dinakara, p. 6

52 The text gives a long मालामंत्र. Vijaya-Devī is here described as golden in complexion and riding on the eagle. In her eight hands she carries

It may be remembered that the Ṛṣimaṇḍala is a protective charm, with Tīrthaṅkara as the principal deity, whose magic light is supposed to save the worshipper from evil spirits. Similarly, the Laghuśānti-stava of Mānadeva-sūri invokes the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha for obtaining freedom from all calamities in the form of Epidemics, Thieves, Grahas, Bhūtas, Rākṣasas, etc.. The Jina is addressed as the destroyer of Grahas, Bhūtas and Dākinīs.[53]

Pārśvanātha is another Tīrthankara who is also invoked for protecting the worshipper from evil spirits. The Kalikuṇḍa-yantra of Pārśvanātha,[54] for example, is intended for this purpose. The Cintāmaṇi-yantra, devoted to Pārśva is also worshipped for various rites including the *stambhana* of Śākinīs and others.[55] Indranandi, the great Digambara Tāntric, also gives a mantra addressed to Pārśva for subduing various evil

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the noose, the disc, the thunderbolt, the *Khaḍga*, the trident, the *śakti*, the axe and the knife. She is सर्वविद्याधिष्ठानभूता and सकलमंत्रेश्वरी.

53 Besides Śāntinātha a devī of the same name (Śāntī-devī) is often invoked for all propitiatory rites Cf. also Śobhana's *Stuticaturviṁśatikā*, verse 48 and *Nirvāṇa-Kalikā*, p. 47 for Śāntī-devī.

54 शाकिनीभूतवैतालपिशाचोरगराक्षसाः ।
भवन्ति निःप्रभा सर्वे यन्त्रस्यास्य प्रभावतः ॥ ७ ॥
शूलं विशूचिकाऽजीर्णं लूतादिस्फोटकादयः ।
अग्निचोरकृतात् भीतिः विषं स्थावरजङ्गमम् ॥ ८ ॥
वन्ध्याऽपि लभते पुत्रं मृतवत्सा च गर्भसूः ।
दुर्भगाः सुभगाश्चैव मन्त्रयन्त्रानुभावतः ॥ १० ॥

Vādideva-sūri, *Kalikuṇḍa-Pārśvajina-stavana*, *Jaina-stotra-samdoha*, II. p. 118

55 डाकिनी शाकिनी चण्डी याकिनी राकिनी तथा ।
लाकिनी नाकिनी सिद्धा सप्तधा शाकिनी स्मृता ॥ ११ ॥
एतेषां खलु ये दोषास्ते सर्वे यान्ति दूरतः ।
चिन्तामणिसुचक्रस्थ-पार्श्वनाथप्रसादतः ॥ १२ ॥

Dharmaghoṣa-sūri, *Śrī-Cintāmaṇi-Kalpa-sāra*, *ibid.* I, p. 36

spirits.[56] Commentaries on the Uvasaggahara and the Bhayahara-stotras also give rites wherein Pārśva is invoked against spirits and poisons. In a hymn composed by Indranandi (explained in the Vidyānuśāsana) are also found mantras of Pārśvanātha against Śākinī or Yoginī. In the Namiūṇa stotra, Mānatuṅga-sūri says that the very uttering of the name of Pārśva drives away thieves, epidemics and such other misfortunes.

In fact, amongst the Tīrthaṅkaras, Pārśvanātha is the *Jina par excellence* connected with the Jain Mantra-śāstra. This is evident from the large number of rites or sādhanas for the worship of Pārśvanātha, for instance, the Cintāmaṇi-kalpa, the Kalikuṇḍa-kalpa, the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa or the different sādhanas on the Uvasaggahara-stotra, the Bhayahara-stotra, etc.,[57] and also by the varieties of sādhanas connected with his attendant yakṣī Padmāvatī. Śivanāga in his Pārśvanātha-stotra, which is full of different Tāntric practices connected with this Jina, calls him the Lord of the Sixteen Vidyās.[58]

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[56] *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa*, appendix 2, p. 15

[57] Pārśvanātha is often invoked for removing the effects of poisons. Cf., for instance,

विद्यासहस्रपोडशगणनायकवीरवर्द्धितानन्द ।
पन्नगकुलं कुलोत्तम निर्विषतां नय नयाभिगमात् ॥ ३ ॥
सर्वेऽपि महानागा नागाधिपकृतफणातपच्छाय ।
कलिकुण्डदण्डनिहता नश्यन्ति विषापहारेण ॥ ४ ॥

Śivanāga's Pārśvanātha-stotra, *Jain-stotra-saṁdoha*, II, p. 71

Candrācārya, in his gloss on the Uvasaggahara, notes seven yantras of Pārśvanātha—जगद्वल्लभम्, सौभाग्यकरम्, लक्ष्मीवृद्धिकरम्, भूतादिनिग्रहकरम्, ज्वरनिग्रहकरम्, शाकिनीनिग्रहकरम्, and विषमविषनिग्रहकरम्. He flourished in c. 12th cent. A. D.

[58] निर्मथितभवभयोल्बण षोडशविद्याधिपत्वमुपपन्न ।
श्रीपार्श्वनाथ विषहर हिलि हिलि मातङ्गिनी स्वाहा ॥ ८ ॥

Jaina-Stotra-saṁdoha, II, p. 73

Śivanāga composed his Pārśvanātha-stotra in c. 930 V. S.

Vidyās in Jainism require a separate treatment. It may, however, be noted here that the contribution of the Jainas to Indian Tāntric Culture was certainly valuable.

The reason for this great popularity of Pārśvanātha in the Jain Mantra-śāstra is rather difficult to seek. But it may be noted that the story of Pārśva, a historical figure, with the account of his austerities and the *upasargas* or obstacles brought about by the attacks of Kamaṭha had been very popular both in the Jain literature [59] and the Jain Art. [60] It was, therefore, quite proper that he should be invoked by his worshippers for protections against various *upasargas* befalling them. Again the Tīrthaṅkara was connected with snake deities like Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī; hence the idea of invoking Pārśvanātha and his yakṣa and yaksiṇī for poison-cures. Besides, the school of Pārśvanātha was earlier than that of Mahāvīra and thus had its own traditions. Pārśvanātha thus appears to be incorporating into his system, beliefs and practices of his own times. Earlier Vidyās like Gorī, Gāndhāraī [61] or *Mātaṅgī* [62] might have been introduced in his age.

Another noteworthy point is that the Jina or the Highest Divinity in Jainism is worshipped and invoked in such malefic rites as *krodha*, *stambha* and *uccāṭana*. This very conception is strictly speaking an innovation, and does not fully agree with the Jain conception of a Tīrthaṅkara who is freed from all bondages of *karma* and who cannot, therefore, be invoked to perform acts like the subduing of evil spirits for the pious Jain worshipper. But all religions have to compromise with the masses, and incorporate into the system the most popular customs and beliefs, if the religion wishes

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59 See *Śrī-Pārśvanātha-caritam* of Vādirāja-sūri, canto X., verses 81-88; canto XI verses 77-85; canto XII, verse 42; Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākāpurusacaritam, VIII*, 3,274-295.

60 The Jain caves at Elura contain several representations of this theme. The story reminds one of the attacks of Māra in Buddhist mythology.

61 Kālingī, Gorī, Gāndhārī etc., are called evil sciences in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 2 2.15, SBE. XLV. p. 366. Gorī, Gāndhārī, Rohiṇī and Prajñapti are referred to in the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi, p. 161 (composed in c. 677 A. D.)

62 Cāṇḍālī in the *Paumacariya* 7.142 and Kṛṣṇa-Mātaṅgī in the *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa*, 6.4., p.31 and *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, p. 162 (along with Kāli, Pārvatī, Mānavā, Paṁsumūliyā and other vidyās). Also com-

to have a large following. This process further leads to an assimilation of other beliefs and rites from the sister faiths of the age with changes here and there, in order to suit the atmosphere of the particular school of thought. Simultaneously, another activity goes on which results in wilful disrespect of the rival faiths. This is brought about in Buddhism by assigning inferior status to the Hindu gods. The Jains were less rude in their opposition. They, however, did not forget to show their antipathy towards the Hindu deities by assigning to them subordinate positions in the Jain Pantheon. It may be remembered that Kārttikeya, Brahmā, Śiva were converted into the Ṣaṅmukha, the Brahmā and the Īśvara, yakṣas[63] respectively. The treatment is not insulting, but not respectful either.

Dr. Bhattacharya has shown how the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra of the Buddhists ushered into existence sādhanas like the Karṇapiśācinī sādhana, the Yakṣinī sādhana, and others. It would be interesting to note that the Jains also incorporated in their Tantra some of these deities. Karnapiśācinī or Karṇapiśācī[46] is invoked for prognasticating both good and bad future. She is said to be shining with various ornaments, and is referred to in the Ambikā-kalpa of Śubhacandra and the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa of Malliṣena. The goddess is specially invoked for *nimitta-jñāna*. Among-other deities invoked for the purpose are Vajrā, Sulabhā, Suprabhā, Randā, Mahāmeru, Sundarī, Chāyāpuruṣa and Chāyātāraka.

Cāmuṇḍā, and Caṇḍikā invoked in cruel rites in the commentary of

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pare ॐ नमो भगवति काली महाकाली चांडाली अमुकस्य रुधिरं पिब$_2$ महृदयं भिन्वा हिलि$_2$ चांडालिनी मातंगिनी स्वाहा ।

Comm. of Pārśvadeva on *Padmāvatīaṣṭaka*, verse 4. See also, Dr. Sylvan Lévi, "*On a Tāntrik Fragment from Kucha (Central Asia)*", IHQ, Vol. XII, pp. 199 ff, for some new light on Mātaṅgī, Gorī, Gāndhārī, etc.

63 Other noteworthy examples are the Nāradas, Rudras and Vāsudevas in Jain Mythology.

64 Commentary on Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa, 8.22, p 49; *Ambikā-kalpa* of Śubhacandra, 4th chapter

Pārśvadeva-gaṇi, or Vārttālī[65] invoked for *Jīva-stambhana* rite in the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa or Caṇḍī-kātyāyanī worshipped in the *aṅganā-karṣaṇa* in the same text are some of the examples of popular pressure exited on the cruel or malefic rites in the Jain Tantra.

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[65] Vārttālī is found in the Buddhist Tantras. Compare, *Sādhanamālā*, I. pp. 276 ff. The Jain mantra for the deity is as follows :—
ॐ वार्त्तालि वराहि वराहमुखि जम्मे जम्भिनि स्तम्मे स्तम्भिनि अन्धे अन्धिनि रुन्धे रुन्धिनि सर्वदुष्टप्रदुष्टानां क्रोधं लिलि मतिं लिलि गति लिलि जिह्वां लिलि ॐ ठः ठः ठः ।
Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa, p. 26

JAINISM IN KALINGA-DESA*

PRINCIPAL BOOL CHAND M.A., PH.D

What is Kalinga?

Pandit Nilkantha Das is of the view[1] that the kingdom of Kalinga extended ordinarily from Tamluk to mid-Ganjam on the sea-coast. The Ganges was its northern boundary, forests beyond mid-Ganjam extended to the south, the Indian Ocean was on the east. The western boundary was, however, uncertain. At times it may have extended upto the Amarkantaka range in upper C. P. and included the ancient south Kosala or Mahākosala kingdom within its territories.

No reference to Kaliṅga is to be found in Vedic literature. although an attempt is occasionally made[2] to include Kalinga among the kingdoms of the South the rulers of which are described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as assuming the title 'Bhoja'. In the Mahābhārata there is specific mention of Kaliṅga as 'a forest kingdom', with its ruler Chitrāṅgada. The Arthaśāstra refers to Kaliṅga in connection with a special kind of cotton fabric. It is a doubtful question whether Kaliṅga was a kingdom of the Āryāvarta; as late as the *Dharma-Sūtra* of Baudhāyana the countries beyond the territories included between the Indus and the Yamunā are spoken of as *mlechcha-deśa*, where no arrangement of regulation exists with regard to women. In the *Sūtra* itself it is stated that whoever goes to Kalinga commits sin with his feet and must perform the *Vaiśvānarīya-Iṣṭi*. From the study of the Sūtra literature, Professor R. D. Banerji concludes that " the people of Eastern Bengal, Northern Bengal and Kalinga were regarded in the time of the Sūtras as being altogether out of the pale of Aryan civilisation and among them the people of Kalinga obtained a slight

* I wish to acknowledge the assistance given to me in the collection of materials for this paper by my friend, Mr. Ratna Chandra Jain M. A.

[1] *See* J. A. H. R. S. II, 12.

[2] *See* J. A. H. R. S. II, 1.

preference. So, while the people of Bengal were regarded as untouchables and were not spoken to or touched by the Aryans, the people of Kaliṅga were not so. We have no means to determine for what reasons the Aryan lord condescended to confer this distinction of the dark Dravidian of Kalinga, but it is there in the Sūtra literature and cannot be denied ".[3] Such a conclusion seems to be supported also by the authority of Jain literature, which refers to the territories included in western Bengal, the 'pathless country of the Rādha', as *anārya-deśa*, but does not so refer to the country of Kalinga.

Kaliṅga a Jain stronghold

It seems probable that by about 7th century B. C. Kalinga had come to be considered as a kingdom of the Āryāvarta. The early Budhist texts mention Kaliṅga several times, with its capital Dāntapur, although it is not included among the sixteen great *mahājanpadas* enumerated in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. In Indian history Kaliṅga has its main importance as the channel, the route by which northern culture filtered to the south. Of this northern culture which made way to the south through Kalinga, the earliest form was presumably Jainism. For this there are reasons.

In the history of Indian culture the *śramaṇa* system of the Jains and the Budhists represents a veritable compromise between the Aryan and the Dravidian habits of life and thought. The Aryans were believers in what has been called the प्रवृत्ति-mārga, while the Dravids followed the निवृत्ति-mārga, with its emphasis upon austerities, self-abnegation and other forms of mystic practices. The Aryans were essentially practical in their outlook, and their social system was aristocratic, recognising the special position of the Brāhmaṇas as the performers of the yajñas and sacrifices; while the Dravidian outlook was more theoretical and their social system more democratic and individualistic in its spirit. Taking our stand upon this essential difference between the Aryan and the Dravidian cultures, the *śramaṇa* system of the Jains and Budhists, more *particularly* perhaps of the Jains, appears to be in its content nearer the Dravidian than the Aryan type, although its propagators, the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, were invariably persons of the Aryan stock; and so Jainism, as a philosophical and

[3] *See* History of Orissa, 1930, p. 58.

religious theory must have been naturally acceptable to the indigenous elements of Kalinga population, with whom it was traditionally connected. It is not an insignificant fact that Jain sacred literature mentions that the congregations of the Tīrthankaras consisted of non-Aryans as well as Aryans, everyone being received there with the same dignity and welcome.

Tradition also lends its support to our contention. Mahāvīra, the last Jain Tīrthankara, seems to have visited Kaliṅga, where his father's friend was ruling, and preached Jainism there. Further, there is mention in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, of which more will be said later on, to the image of *Kalinga-Jina* which had been carried away from Kalinga by a Nanda king and which Khāravela ultimately recovered from Magadha. The Kalinga-Jina,[4] as will be manifest from the study of the whole extant Jain sculpture in Orissa, is none other than Pārsvanāth, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, who died 250 years before Mahāvīra; which clearly establishes that Jainism must have existed in Orissa before the time of Mahāvīra. From the traditional literature of the Jains we know that before Mahāvīra's time Pārśva was the Tīrthaṅkara worshipped by the Jain *saṁgha* and that Mahāvīra's own father was a worshipper of Pārsva, and that in many instances Mahāvīra had to preach his rather more elaborated system among the followers of Pārsva. Possibly in coming to Kaliṅga, to the kingdom of a friend of his father's, Mahāvīra was doing nothing more than propagating his revised form of Jainism among a people who already belonged to the Jain *saṁgha* as organised by Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva.

Early History of Kaliṅga

Kaliṅga emerges into the light of history with the rise of the Nandas. The Hāthigumphā inscription contains two references to the conquest of Kaliṅga by the Nandas. The first reference is in the 6th line, which mentions an aqueduct excavated in the year 103 of Nandarāja which was extended by Khāravela as far as his capital city.

[4] Prof: R. D. Banerji thinks that the Kaliṅga-Jina is the tenth Tīrthaṅkara, Śītalanātha, who was born at Bhadalpur (probably, Bhadrāchalam or Bhadrapuram in the Kaliṅga country)—*see* History of Orissa, p. 61. Prof. Banerji naturally concludes that "Orissa had been a Jain stronghold from the very beginning."

नंद राज-ति-वस-सत ओघाटितं तनसुलिय-वाटा पनाडि नगरं पवेस(य)ति

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that the year in this line refers to the Nanda era, which is also referred to by Al-Biruni in his *Tahqiq-i-Hind*. The second reference is in the 12th line, which mentions the recovery by Khāravela of the image of Kaliṅga-Jina which had been carried away by Nandarāja.

नंदराजनीतं च कालिंगजिन-संनिवेसं......

Which Nanda king is meant by the term Nandarāja, the founder of the dynasty Mahāpadma-Nanda or some later Nanda, is a question which has been a matter of controversy among historians.

The Pauranic tradition records that when thirty-two kings of Kalinga had reigned, Mahāpadma-Nanda rose and exterminated the Kṣatriyas, becoming the sole monarch (एकराट्) of the earth which came under his undisputed sway. Professor Hemchandra Roychoudhuri[5] takes this term to mean that Mahāpadma-Nanda finally overthrew all the dynasties which had ruled contemporaneously with the Śiśunāgas, *viz* : the Ikṣvākus, the Pāñchāla's, the Kāśīs (apparently successors of the prince whom Śiśunāga had placed in Benares), the Haihayas, the Kāliṅgas, the Aśmakas, the Maithilas, the Śūrasenas, the Vītihotras, etc. The Pauranic account of the unification of considerable portion of territory in eastern India under Nanda sceptre is further corroborated by the classical writers, who spoke of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the Beās in the time of Alexander as being under one sovereign who had his capital at Pali-bothra (Pāṭaliputra). May it not be, then, that it was Mahāpadma-Nanda who held away over Kaliṅga and who started the Nanda era referred to in Khāravela's inscription ? He was certainly powerful enough to start his own era, for he was the possessor of a big empire, a large army and enormous wealth ; and as he was a Jain, it would not be unlikely that Khāravela, another Jain prince, referred to his era in his inscription.

What happened to Kaliṅga on the fall of the Nandas at the hands of Chandragupta Maurya is not known, but it does seem certain that the province of Kaliṅga did not pass with the rest of the Nanda empire under the sway of the Mauryas. Possibly the Kṣatriyas of Kaliṅga had assert-

5. See his Political History of Ancient India, p 188.

ed their independence during the decline of the Nanda power and contiuned to retain it while the rest of Nanda possessions passed to the Mauryans. The next mention that we are able to obtain of Kaliṅga is when it was conquered after a very violent war in 256 B. C. by the emperor Aśoka. Professor Banerji contends that the fact that the conquest of Kaliṅga was not undertaken by Chandragupta, who is credited with the conquest of even the extreme south of the Indian peninsula, is evidence that Kaliṅga must have been too powerful to be tackled immediately after the foundation of the Mauryan dynasty. It is possible that Kaliṅga had at this time built up a great overseas empire and spread its colonies in the eastern seas. At any rate, when the conquest of Kaliṅga was ultimately undertaken by Aśoka, it could not be achieved without terrible carnage and bloodshed on both sides, as only a war between two powerful kingdoms can produce. Aśoka mentions in his 13th edict that during the conquest one hundred and fifty thousand men were captured and carried away in slavery, one hundred thousand men were killed, and many times that number died as the result of the war. In this edict we also obtain an incidental reference to the existence of Jainism in Kaliṅga at this time, for Aśoka proceeds to say that the slaughter, death and captivity of the people that occur when an unconquered county is being conquered, is looked upon as extremely painful and regrettable by him (lit. the Beloved of the Gods) , but that it is all the more regrettable when one considers that there dwell in the conquered country Brāhmaṇic, *Śramaṇic* and other sects and followers.

Soon after Aśoka's death, although it is difficult to say, exactly when, Kaliṅga seems to have thrown off the yoke of Magadhan rule and regained its independence. This must have happened long before the overthrow of the Mauryan dynasty by the *Senāpati* Pushyamitra, for historians have read in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela a reference to the defeat of Pushyamitra, the usurper of Magadha, at the hands of Khāravela.

Khāravela's Inscription

With the recovery of its independence from Magadhan yoke, Kaliṅga entered upon the enjoyment of the third great spell of her history as a free country, the first having been the period of the thirty-two rulers referred

to in the Purāṇas before the reduction of the country by Nandarāja, and the second having been the interval between the fall of the Nandas and Kaliṅgan conquest by Aśoka. Of this third period of Kaliṅga's history as an independent kingdom, our main, in fact the only, evidence is to be found in the great rock inscription of King Khāravela on the Udaigiri hill.

The inscription is inscribed partly in front and partly on the roof of the Hāthigumphā cavern on the southern face of the Udaigiri hill, situated about three miles from Bhuvaneswara. Unfortunately, the inscription is very much damaged; all that can be read with any degree of certainty is the first seven lines and certain portions only of the remaining ten. Its language is *Apabhraṁśa* Prakrit, with traces of Ardha-Māgadhī and Jaina prakritisms. The inscription was discovered by A. Stirling as early as the year 1820, and its *facsimile* was published in various journals, but its first workable version was given only in 1885 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists held at Leyden.* He felt that in the 16th line there was reference to the date of the inscription as '165 Maurya era', which he calculated as 157 B.C.; and this reading was accepted by a long line of historical researchers. But Dr. Indraji's hypothesis was questioned in 1910 by Professor Lüders in an article in the Indian Antiquary and by Dr. Fleet in another article in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, who felt that the record did not mention any date at all and that the passage in the 16th line referred instead to a certain canonical text of the Jainas which had gone out of use during the reign of the Mauryas. This occasioned considerable controversy, but happily it is today possible to state that the controversy has subsided and Dr. Fleet's reading of the 16th line has been fully agreed to by all.

The inscription begins with an invocation of the *Arhats* and the *Siddhas* in the traditional Jain style, and there is no doubt that it is a Jain inscription and that Khāravela himself was a Jain monarch. It was probably that fact about the inscription which helped the universal acceptance of Dr. Fleet's view of the reading of the 16th line, although in the traditional Jain literature there has not yet been found any mention of a collection of the Jain texts by Khāravela and even of Khāravela himself. In historical research about ancient India, literature has been utilised

frequently as a secondary source and as a corrective for the information gleaned from primary sources, like inscriptions; and so far as the inscription is concerned there is not the slightest doubt that it gives an account of the principal events of Khāravela's political life and even enables us more or less accurately to fix the date of the great emperor. The inscription, it may be noticed, describes Khāravela as *Aila* (belonging to the Kshatriya clan), belonging to the *Chedi* dynasty. It makes no mention of Khāravela's father or predecessors, a curious omission, which has led Professor Banerji [6] to the conclusion that possibly Khāravela did not know the name of his father and that there prevailed in Kaliṅga at that time some form of matriarchal society.

Account of Khāravela's Reign

As we have said above, the Hāthigumphā inscription affords a reliable account of the principal events of Khāravela's reign. It mentions that Khāravela became the Yuvarāja or heir-apparent at the age of 15 and was formally annointed king in the 24th year.

The first year of the King's reign was spent in repairing the damages to the city of Kaliṅga caused by a cyclone. He repaired the forts, built dams and walls, and furnished the town with fine gardens, thus pleasing his three-and-a-half million people.

In the second year he undertook the first campaign of the reign; he sent his army westwards, where it reached the river Krishna and caused terror to the city of the Mushikas. It is mentioned that all this was done in defiance of Sātakarṇi, who was presumably the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The inscription gives no reasons for the expedition and no information about its final results. But the Mushikas were probably a subordinate ally of Sātakarṇi and their country was more or less adjoining to Kaliṅga, for the Nātya-śāstra describes the Tosalas, the Kosalas, the Mosalas (probably Mushikas) as related to the Kaliṅgas.

The third year was marked by great rejoicings in the capital of Kaliṅga, where Khāravela established many pastimes.

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[6] *See* History of Orissa, p. 74.

The record of the fourth year is partly damaged. It opens with a reference to a city established by previous kings of Kalinga and presumably in tact upto the time of Khāravela, and then goes on to refer to the Rāṣtrikas and the Bhojakas, whom Khāravela compelled to submit to him. They were probably feudatory tribes to the Āndhras.

In the fifth year, the inscription mentions that Khāravela further extended to his capital a canal opened in the year 103 of the Nandarāja. This reference enables us to state that possibly Tosali, in whose neighbourhood incidentally this inscription stands, was the capital of Khāravela's kingdom.

The beginning of the next line is damaged, but from the context we can infer that it gives an account of the sixth year, during which Khāravela performed the *Rājasūya Yajña* and remitted taxes and customs duties. The performance of the *Rājasūya Yajña* by a Jain king of Kalinga affords further support to our argument that Kaliṅga formed the channel by which northern or Aryan culture progressed to the south.

In the seventh year possibly a child was born to Khāravela's queen, who was a princess of *Vajjra-ghara*, which has been identified by Professor Krishnaswami Iyengar as "an ancient dynasty of considerable importance holding the important territory of Bengal on the side of the Ganges".[7]

The first important campaign in north India was undertaken in the eighth year, when Khāravela marched with a large army towards Magadha and fought an important action at Gorathgiri (modern Barābar hill in the Gaya district), which was presumably one of the outlying fortresses protecting Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. The rest of the line being damaged, the result of this campaign is not known.

The next line presumably gives record of the ninth year, when Khāravela gave away elephants, chariots and horses to the Brāhmaṇas, and built at the cost of 38 lacs a palace called *Mahā-vijaya.*

In the tenth year Khāravela took his second campaign to north India and obtained his desired object, the details of which have unfortunately been lost in the damaged portion of the 10th line.

[7] *See,* Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, p. 59.

In the eleventh year he turned his attention to the South and destroyed the city of Pithunda and at the same time broke a league of Tamil kings which had existed for about 113 years. This is Professor Banerji's interpretation, and it differs widely from how the other scholars have read this line; but it appears to be the most satisfactory interpretation, for it is based upon the assumption that Khāravela's conquests were made primarily in South India and not in North India. The absence of Khāravela's mention in the traditional literature of North India would obviously support Bannerji's contention.

From now onwards campaigns were undertaken, it seems, in very quick succession, as the King was now in the prime of his life. In the twelfth year, he produced consternation among the kings of *Uttarapatha* by plundering the capital of Magadha, Pātaliputra, and compelling the rājā of Magadha, Bṛhaspatimitra (who has been identified by historians with Pushyamitra, the Śuṅga usurper of the Mauryan throne), to surrender. during this campaign, he brought away an image of Kalinga-Jina, which had been taken away from Kaliṅga by Nandarāja. In the same year, Khāravela seems to have subdued the Pāṇḍyas, who sent him, the inscription mentions, jewellery, either as present or as tribute.

Finally, for the Hāthigumphā inscription finishes with the 13th year of the reign, Khāravela made arrangement in his thirteenth year for the distribution of white clothes to the Jain monks on the Kumari hill where the Jina Mahāvīra had preached his religion, and built a relic memorial at this place. During this year Khāravela seems to have devoted himself entirely to religious meditation and activity. As mentioned in line 14 above, he had already taken the vow of an *Upāsaka* and fully understood the relation between body and soul.[8] Now he convened a Jain Council, where monks from all quarters were assembled and the text of the Jain canons was compiled in so far as it was possible to do so after the loss suffered during the religious upheaval in the days of the Mauryas. As we have stated before, there is unluckily no mention in the Jain traditional literature of this Jain Council.

[8] पूजाय रत–उवास–खारवेल–सिरिना जीवदेह–सिरिका परिखिता

The Hāthigumphā inscription is silent about further events of the reign of Khāravela. We cannot, therefore, speak with certainty about the length of his rule. Still, the inscription gives us material enough to assert with firmness that Khāravela was a powerful prince and raised the position of Kaliṅga to great heights. The importance of the record, from the point of view of historians, is even otherwise quite paramount, for it is the only example that has so far been discovered of a chronological account of the events of King's reign. Obviously the monarch of Kaliṅga had deep historical sense, which is not a frequent experience in ancient Indian history. Further, this inscription affords welcome insight into the kind of training which was given to an heir-apparent in order to equip him to bear the burdens of the kingly office. The second line of this inscription mentions specifically accomplishments in subjects like state-accounting, currency, civil law, religious law, and the other vidyās.

Khāravela is mentioned once more in another inscription close to the Hāthigumphā, in the upper part of a double-storeyed cave called the *Svargapuri*. This part of the cave was inscribed by the chief queen of Khāravela, who is referred to in this inscription as *Kaliṅga-chakravartin*, as contrasted with *Kaliṅga-adhipati*, the term used in the Hāthigumphā inscription. This has led scholars to argue that by the time the other inscription was made Khāravela must have become the overlord of 'Tri-Kaliṅga,' the three Kaliṅgas. The word 'Tri-Kaliṅga', round which so much is built by scholars of ancient history, finds no distinct mention in epigraphic or other records before the time of Kosala Guptas' conquest of Orissa in the 7th century A. D, and the 'Tri-Kaliṅga' obtained its meaning as the consequence of the disruption of Kaliṅga into three distinct kingdoms, *viz*: Utkal, Kangoda, and Kosala (or south Ganjam)—a disruption which does not occur until long after Khāravela's time. In Khāravela's time Kaliṅga was a single kingdom, so that if the appellation *Kaliṅga-chakravartin* used in the other inscription has some meaning, it must be discovered not by bringing in the concept of 'Tri-Kaliṅga' but by arguing that possibly Khāravela had himself assumed or better still that his chief queen had applied to him the new title in pure self-glorification after the various beneficient acts that he had performed in furtherance of the happiness of his people.

Date of Khāravela

As regards the date of Khāravela there has been controversy among scholars. We have already stated how at one time the 16th line was thought to contain a clue to the date of the inscription, for it was read as पानं तरिय सठि-वस-सते राजमुरियकाले वोच्छिने च चोयठि-अग-सतिकं (lit. in the time of King Muriya which had elapsed by a hundred and sixty-five years). Dr. Indraji connected the words चोयठि-अग-सतिकं with वोच्छिने and translated it as 164 years, and argued that it gave the number of the elapsed year. Such an interpretation was later on felt to be untenable, for the passage did not contian any word for 'years', and anyhow the passage in the line was read as referring to the compilation of the fourth part of the *Anga-saptika* the *chosaṭhi* which had been destroyed during the rule of the Mauriyas. The determination of the date of Khāravela was then made dependent upon the reading of the 6th line, which referred to the year 103 of the Nandarāja. The argument was made that the fifth year of Khāravela's reign to which the 6th line refers coincides with the year 103, counted either from the beginning or from the end or from some intermediate year of the reign of King Nanda; but on calculation such coincidence was found to be very improbable. Consideration of architectural and sculptural principles yielded no more certain results, for Fergusson and Burgess state[9] that the fashion of chiselling cells out of the living rock commenced with Aśoka's reign and was continued with continually increasing magnificence and elaboration for nearly 1,000 years after his time. Hāthigumphā seems to be a natural cavern, little improved or enlarged by art, so that its date ought to be slightly before Aśoka's time; but that was felt to be impossible in view of several other references in the inscription to certain contemporary rulers or persons, to the analysis of whose dates recourse was now had in order to fix the date of the Hāthigumphā inscription.

In the 8th line which refers to the eighth year of Khāravela's reign, there appears to be reference to the Yavana king Demet(rios) who, on hearing the report of Khāravela's acts of valour, retreated from Mathurā. The fact that there was a Greek invader near the Mādhyamikā territory when Pushyamitra, the ruler of Magadha, was engaged in the celebration of his *Asvamedha-yajña* is corroborated by the grammarian Patañjali, who was writing his commentary on Pāṇini's Sanskrit Grammar as these events took

[9] *See* 'The Çave Temples of, India', pp. 67-8.

place. Furthermore, it is certain from classical sources that when Demetrios was engaged upon his conquests on the Yamunā he suddenly received information about the success of his rival Eucratides in Bactria, which necessitated his sudden retreat from Mathurā. All these facts can be pieced together and made to fit into the account contained in the inscription. Demetrios came as far as Mathurā, and even beyond Mathurā to Sāketa, when Pushyamitra was engaged upon the performance of his *Asvamedha* sacrifice. Just then Khāravela made his attack on Gorathgiri, which Pushyamitra was evidently not able to face; and since Demetrios retreated from Mathurā at the same time on hearing of the successes of Eukratides in Bactria and without any action against him on the part of Khāravela, Khāravela naturally felt justified in reporting in his inscription that घातापयिता राजगहं उपपीडापयति एतिना च कम्मापदान संनादेन संवइत-तेन-वाहनो विपमुंचितुं मधुरां अपयातो यवन-राज-डिमित यच्छति-वि-पलव.

In addition to this reference to the Yavana king, there is another ground on which the date of the inscription can be fixed. An Āndhra king Sātakarṇi is actually mentioned in the inscription (2nd line) as Khāravela's rival, and this person can be none other than the Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāt inscription, which on epigraphical grounds has been decided to belong to the same period as the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela; so that even though the Hāthigumphā inscription is undated, there is ample reason to believe that Khāravela would fit in with the dates of Demetrios and Sātakarṇi in the first half of the second century B.C.

Later History of Kaliṅga

Thus in the second century B. C., Kaliṅga was the centre of a powerful empire ruled over by Khāravela, who was one of the greatest royal patrons of the Jain faith. It is possible that the statements in the Hāthigumphā may be somewhat prejudiced, in which successes may have been exaggerated and reverses entirely passed over, and in the absence of any other kind of evidence about Khāravela, in literature or in contemporary records, the testing of these statements has not been so far possible. Nevertheless Khāravela's existence is now universally accepted, and it seems quite safe to conclude that Khāravela was a powerful monarch and that Kaliṅga under his rule achieved certain eminence and enjoyed great prosperity. There is another inscription in the verandah of the lower storey of *Svargapurī* cave, which records its excavation by a king of

Kaliṅga, named Kuḍepasiri, who also styled himself in a similar manner to Khāravela as 'Aila', 'Mahārāja Mahāmeghavāhana', and the overlord of Kaliṅga.[10] Clearly, this Kuḍepasiri was from the dynasty of Khāravela, although it cannot be stated exactly how long and when he ruled. But after Kuḍepasiri "the pall of dense darkness again descends upon the history of Kaliṅga".

Professor Krishnaswami Iyengar[11] has found reference in Tamil literature to a fratricidal war between the cousin rulers of two kingdoms of Kaliṅga with their respective capitals, Kapilapura and Siṁhapura; and he believes that this fratricidal war took place soon after the death of Khāravela and that it marked the disruption of the country's territorial integrity. In Khāravela's time Kaliṅga was a well-formed kingdom, set over against the rising kingdom of the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan. It is possible that the ultimate fall of Kaliṅga came about at the hands of the Sātavāhanas. The subjugation of Kaliṅga by the Sātavāhanas must have taken place before the Sātavāhana conquest of Magadha in the 1st century B. C., for the Tamil epics that refer to the march of Karikāla to the north do not make any mention of the Kaliṅga kingdom, although they do refer to Vajranaḍu, a kingdom on the banks of the Sone, Magadha, and Avanti. Among the conquests of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi figure the hills of Mahendra and Malaya. Professor Krishnaswami Iyengar is of the view that Malaya stands for Mālyavān, one of the far-eastern peaks of the Vindhyan mountains, quite on the borderland of Kaliṅga; which implies that Kaliṅga was conquered by Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi.

When the Āndhra power declined, Kaliṅga seems to have fallen to the share of the usurper from Ayodhya, Śrī Vīra Puruṣa Datta of the Ikṣvāku race. Under the Guptas, a small part of Kaliṅga seems to have been included in the Gupta empire, but the major portion remained outside. It is noticeable that in this southern campaign Samudragupta chose to neglect the more practicable route to the Godavari-Krishna Doab along the eastern coast through south-western Bengal, and followed instead the extremely difficult route through the Jubbulpore and Raipur districts of the Central Provinces. By arranging the kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, scholars like Jouveau-Dubreiul have come to the conclusion that Samudragupta came as far as the Ganjam

[10] *See* 'Epigraphia Indica', XIII, p. 160.

[11] *See* J. A. H. R. S. II, p. 4 & 5.

district but did not go further, for he was met, as he emerged out of the western ghats towards the coast, by a confederacy of southern kings, which included among others Svāmidatta of *Kottura*, Damana of *Erandapalle*, and Kubera of *Devarāṣṭra*, which places have been identified with places in the Kalinga country. Nevertheless it seems certain that Kaliṅga came distinctly within the zone of influence of the Guptas. In certain inscriptions, particularly in the Ganjam area, Gupta era came to be used. Still, the religious condition of Kaliṅga remained possibly undisturbed, with Jainism retaining its ascendancy and co-existing with the other forms of *Śramaṇa* and Brāhmaṇa faiths.

The Kalinga invasion of Samudragupta, that is of the territories comprised within the limits of Kaliṅga, seems to have left the country politically disorganised, for there is a record of Yavana rule over Kalinga again and some members of the ruling family migrating to Ceylon. Professor Krishnaswami Iyengar thinks that this Yavana must have been one of the Kshatraps of the west, although in view of the existence of the Vakataka power on the way that seems somewhat unlikely. When the Gupta empire went into dismemberment at the end of the fifth century, Kalinga may have regained some of its lost power and emerged into some importance again, although as Professor Banerji said, so far as the history of Kaliṅga is concerned we are not on firm ground until the 7th century A. D., when Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim paid a visit to Kaliṅga. Yuan Chwang does not give the exact boundaries of the country, although he mentions that Kaliṅga was then divided into three parts—U'cha (Odra), Kong-yu-to (Kongoda), and Ki-ling-kia (Kaliṅga). The country, Yuan Chwang goes on to say, was less than a thousand miles in circuit, containing large forests. It produced large dark elephants which were prized in the neighbouring countries. " The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech; in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from mid-India ".

Politically the history of Kaliṅga during this period is rather obscure, but from a religious point of view this period of Kaliṅga history seems to offer a momentous aspect, for it was about this time that Nāgārjuna of Kāñchī converted Kalinga to the Mahāyāna school of Budhism, which later on changed its shape into the neo-Vaishnavic Hinduism of which Jagannath Puri, one of the famous cities of Kalinga, has since been the great distributing centre.

WERE THE PURĀṆAS ORIGINALLY IN PRAKRIT?*

DR A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

In the introduction to his "*Dynasties of the Kali Age*", PARGITER observes with regard to the *Purāṇas* that "It is highly probable that they consisted at first mainly of ancient stories, genealogies, ballads, etc., which formed the popular side of ancient literature, and were quite probably in Prakrit originally", which he calls "an old literary Prakrit used by the higher classes".[1] These were Sanskritized later on by converting Prakrit words into Sanskrit and by substituting the future for the past tense without violating the metre, as also by dropping words, inserting compensatory expletives and recasting the sentence occasionally.[2] He mentions the following six peculiarities as supporting his inference, offering proof in Appendix I of the same book: "first, certain passages violate the *śloka* metre, whereas in Prakrit forms they would satisfy the metre; secondly, certain Prakrit forms actually occur, especially where they are actually required by the metre, which the corresponding Sanskrit forms would violate; thirdly, Sanskrit words occur at times in defiance of syntax, whereas the corresponding Prakrit forms would make the construction correct; fourthly, mistaken Sanskritization of names and words; fifthly, the copious use of expletive particles; sixthly, irregular *Sandhi*".[3]

Before meeting these arguments it is worth considering PARGITER's well-known theory of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya tradition, of which the above inference comes as a natural corollary, since the Kṣatriya or popular tradition, before being taken over by the Brāhmaṇas, was in the language of the people, the Prakrit.[4] This theory on which rests the superstructure of the inference of Prakrit origin, however, is untenable on account of a

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* Paper read at the XI All-India Oriental Conference, Hydrabad.

1 p. xvii, n 2

2 *op. cit.*, p. xviii

3 *op. cit.*, p. 77

4 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 5-14

number of reasons, which are briefly indicated here. In the first place, there have never been in India, two such watertight compartments as the Brāhmaṇa tradition and the Kṣatriya tradition. Even in the works distinctly assigned to Kṣatriya tradition by PARGITER, we find the glorification of the Brāhmaṇas, and the so-called Brahmanic literature abounds in Kṣatriya legends. There has always been a Ksatriya king and a Brāhmaṇa Guru; and some stray quarrels between individual kings and their priests do not warrant the inference of a fight between the Church and the State, which European scholars are always prone to draw on the analogy of similar eternal quarrels in their own country. The *Purāṇas* themselves assign a comparatively small portion to genealogical accounts, the genuine Ksatriya tradition according to PARGITER. The Purāṇas, moreover, follow the Vedic religion, and pride in styling themselves the fifth Veda; and entirely ignore, as stated by Prof. DIKSHITAR, non-Vedic sects as Buddhism and Jainism.[5] The so-called Kṣatriya texts, *viz.*, the epics and the *Purānas*, are equally Brahmanic compilations like the *Saṁhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, etc. Further, as observed by Prof. KEITH, the earliest reference to *Purāṇa* is for a point of Brahmanical lore and not for a point of genealogy or history, which would have been the case had PARGITER's view regarding the Kṣatriya origin of the *Purāṇas* been correct;[6] other early references also relate to similar matters. It is thus clear that there was no such thing as the distinct Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya tradition.

Now to turn to the grounds cited by PARGITER in support of his thesis. It may be observed at the outset, that even accepting all the grounds to be valid and proved, they are not sufficient to postulate the existence of originals in Prakrit. In the first place, they relate only to the genealogical portions, which occupy but a small part of the bulky mass the *Purāṇas* contain. The number of instances quoted in support of each of the grounds is quite disproportionate to the total number of stanzas these accounts include. One would have expected a stronger and an all-pervasive evidence to support even a *prima facie* case. The evidence brought forward by PARGITER is insufficient to warrant the inference.

The arguments put forth can be met satisfactorily. The first two relate to metrics, and the next two to grammar. With regard to the

[5] *Ind. Hist, Qtly.* VIII, p. 758

[6] *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1027

violation of metre, PARGITER has apparently started with the assumption that strict metrical rules must be observed in genealogies Authors of genealogies were not chiefly concerned with metrical niceties, and similar metrical lapses are found in other portions of the *Purāṇas* as well. As regards the other part of the argument that Prakritic forms satisfy the metre in the instances cited, Dr. KEITH has shown that a critical examination of these forms proves them not to be Prakritic forms at all.[7] Concerning the arguments showing grammatical irregularities, it is to be observed that they are better explained on the supposition that they are due to the influence of popular speech which accounts for these quasi-Prakritisms, than by supposing that Prakrit originals have been deliberately translated into Sanskrit. Influence of Prakritic tendency is found even in Vedic texts, which naturally persisted in later ritual texts, epics and the *Purāṇas*. Irregularities regarding the use of numerals find their counterparts even in pre-classical Sanskrit texts. On the contrary, as shown by Dr. KEITH, the theory becomes inexplicable when it is seen that the *Matsya*, the older version even according to PARGITER, is found to have correct numeral expressions, while the later *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* have ungrammatical words[8]. In such cases as *ekachatra* for *ekaksatra*, the Prakritic influence, as rightly observed by Dr. KEITH, is only that of some transcribers, not a sign of Prakrit original.[9] The fifth argument (which relates to the use of too numerous expletives which has been explained as due to the transmutation of the Prakrit past tense into future) can be explained in part by stating that these portions do not profess to be specimens of good poetry. In the second place, what would appear to Englishmen as too profuse use of the expletives or the so-called verse fillers appears as quite normal to the Indians; and in fact forms a feature of classical Sanskrit poetry. The last argument regarding irregular and double Sandhis has been answered by Dr. KEITH by stating that they are simply instances of careless Sanskrit, which are not rare in Sanskrit.[10] It may also be stated that similar lapses are found in other parts of the *Purāṇas* as well. Hence, all the arguments having been satisfactorily answered, it is quite unnecessary to postulate the composition of the *Purāṇas* in Prakrit.

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7 *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 1027-1028

8 *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 1028-1029

9 *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1029

10 *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1030

Another objection to the inference of the existence of Prakrit originals for the *Purāṇas* is the fact that at the period preceding that of Āpastamba, when we get reference to a *Purāṇa*, there is no record of any literary prakrit. The theory thus requires the assumption of the existence of some form of literary Prakrit in the 5th Cent. B. C to render it plausible. Again, in the development of the *Purāṇas* (into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter at present) we nowhere come across any Prakrit stage at an early date. The Prakrit influence as such pertains to a late date. With reference to the Prakritic names current in the vernacular such as Rādhā and Āyān, it may be stated that Dr. CHATTERJI has taken them as a strong evidence for the antiquity of some of the features of the Kṛṣṇa legend despite the silence of the early *Purāṇas* about them.[11] He places them as far back as the 6th Cent. A. D. In the absence of any critical edition of the *Purāṇas* it is most hazardous to draw chronological deductions from linguistic data. As there is no relevant material available, it cannot be definitely stated at what particular epoch the Prakrit influence was at work.

It is interesting in this connection to note the similar case of the *Mahābhārata* as it also belongs to the so-called Kṣatriya tradition, and scholars like GRIERSON[12] actually contended that the epic was originally composed in Prakrit. The same arguments are applicable in both cases. As the epics and the *Purāṇas* were intended to cater for the general public, to instruct them and to make a popular appeal, it was but inevitable that there should be an influence of popular speech both on the composers and transmitters of the tradition. With regard to the metrical irregularities in the *Mahābhārata*, Prof. HOPKINS has attributed them to the influence of popular speech,[13] which can with equal justice be applied to the case of the *Purāṇas* as well.

Thus on the analogy of the *Mahābhārata*, and in view of the facts shown above, it seems safe to conclude that there is no basis for postulating the existence of the *Purāṇas* originally in Prakrit. The so-called Prakritisms are, as already indicated, a late phase, due to the influence of popular speech on the transmitters and transcribers of the *Purāṇas* who had to instruct the general public.

11 *Bull. Sch. Or. Studies*, VIII, pp. 457-466

12 Cf. GRIERSON, Indian Epic Poetry, *Ind. Ant.*, XXIII, pp. 52-56

13 *Great Epic of India*, pp. 260-266

THE DESCRIPTION OF DAŚARATHA IN THE RAGHUVAMŚA

PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHILL. (Oxon.)
University of Madras, Triplicane, (Madras)

Daśaratha is the fourth king described in the Raghuvaṁśa. There are Dilīpa, his son Raghu and his son Aja preceding him and their story is described in the first eight cantos of the epic. Dilīpa is described as a very virtuous king in the beginning of the first canto and in the rest of the canto and in the second canto there are some incidents narrated which illustrate his virtuous character. Raghu is presented to us as a heroic youth fighting with Indra in the third canto. In the beginning of the fourth canto there is his description as a mighty king. In the same canto his march of conquest all around India is described. Aja is introduced as a bride-groom. There is his description in the eighth canto as a man of soft nature. The chief incident described in his life, is his bemoaning the death of his consort, besides his marriage. Thus there is some intimate relation between the description of the character and the incidents narrated, the latter being selected to justify the description. Further, there is no repetition in the description of the first three kings. Dilīpa is described in 18 verses.[2] Not a single idea is repeated. Raghu is described in 13 verses[3] and then in eleven verses[4] there is a description of summer, where also there is a continuous reference in every one of the verses to Raghu. Here too practically no idea is repeated that had appeared in the description of his father. One or two ideas that had already appeared in the description of Dilīpa, appear here in quite a new setting.[5] Aja is described

[1] dārakriyāyogyadaśam ca putram—Raghu. V-40 b

[2] Raghu. I-13 to 30

[3] Raghu. IV-1 to 13

[4] Raghu. IV-13 to 24

[5] Cf. senā paricchadas tasya dvayam evārthasādhanam
śāstreṣv akuṇṭhitā buddhir maurvī dhanuṣi cātatā (Ragh. 1-19) with
kāmam karṇāntaviśrānte viśāle tasya locane

in 9 verses[6] and then in eight verses[7] there is a description of Raghu and Aja, the former in the penance grove and the latter on the throne. Here also we find that there is practically no repetition.

Daśaratha is described in 23 verses.[8] One is not able to say which particular feature the author wanted to present as the prominent one in his character. There is an individuality in the characters of Dilīpa, Raghu and Aja. But this individuality is utterly wanting in the description of Daśaratha. Further we find that the same idea is repeated over and over again. Take the first verse :

pituranantaram uttarakosalān
samadhigamya samādhijitendriyaḥ
daśarathaḥ praśaśāsa mahāratho
yamavatām avatām ca dhuri sthitaḥ.[9]

Here there is the term samādhijitendriyaḥ and then there is also the expression yamavatām dhuri sthitaḥ. This is a clear repetition in the same verse. In this very verse there is the expression avatām dhuri sthitaḥ. The next verse deals with the same point :

adhigatam vidhivad yad apālayat
prakṛtimaṇḍalam ātmakulocitam
abhavad asya tato guṇavattaram
sanagaram nagarandhrakaraujasaḥ.[10]

There is the reference to the king's protection in the first verse and in the second also there is the same idea. In this latter, it is stated that prakṛtimaṇḍala became more prosperous (than at the time of his forefathers, perhaps) along with the cities. Why should there be this special mention of the cities ? If the country is prosperous, the cities too should be so. Here there is the additional epithet nagarandhrakaraujasaḥ. Perhaps we may accept that prowess is a necessary virtue for protection.

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cakṣuṣmattā tu śāstreṇa sūkṣmakāryārthadarśinā (Ragh. IV-13)

[6] Ragh. VIII-1 to 9

[7] Ragh. VIII-16 to 23

[8] Ragh. IX-1 to 23

[9] Ragh. IX-1

[10] Ragh. IX-2

In the third verse Daśaratha is compared to Indra. The former showers wealth to those who ask for it and the latter showers rain for the prosperity of the land.

ubhayam eva vadanti manīṣiṇaḥ
samayavarṣitayā kṛtakarmaṇām
balaniṣūdanam arthapatim ca tam
śramanudam manudaṇḍadharānvayam.[11]

About Dilīpa it was said that he performed sacrifices for the good of the celestials and Indra gave rain for the prosperity of the earth.[12] About Raghu it was said that Indra lifted his bow in the rainy season and Raghu had his bow held up in summer.[13] Here the comparison with Indra is about liberality in gift. Thus far it is quite good. But the term manudaṇḍadhara is not quite happy. Kālidāsa never uses a word in any sense than in which it is well known, that is than its rūḍhi sense. Daṇḍadhara can mean a king; but the word is found in the Amarakośa[14] only as meaning yama; neither the same word, nor even a similar word, is found among the synonyms of king.[15]

In the fourth verse there are two ideas, more or less allied, namely freedom of the subjects from diseases and from invasion of the enemies. Then there is also the reference in the second half to plenty. In the second verse the country was stated to be guṇavattara and here it is stated as phalavatī. This is not quite a repetition. What is slightly unhappy in this verse is the presence of four epithets in the second half, not quite useful for the general meaning of the verse, which is:

[11] Ragh. IX-3

[12] dudoha gām sa yajñāya sasyāya maghavā divam
sampadvinimayenobhau dadhatur bhuvanadvayam (Ragh. I-26)

[13] vārṣikam sañjahārendro raghur jaitram dhanur dadhau
prajārthasādhane tau hi paryāyodyatakārmukau (Ragh. IV-16)

[14] Kālo daṇḍadharaḥ śrāddhadevo vaivasvato 'ntakaḥ (Amara. I-i-59)

[15] The synonyms are:
mūrdhābhiṣikto rājanyo bāhujaḥ kṣatriyo virāṭ
rājñi rāṭpārthivakṣmābhṛnnṛpabhūpamahīkṣitāḥ (Amara. II-viii-1)

janapade na gadah padam ādadhāv
abhıbhavah kuta eva sapatnajaḥ
kṣitir abhūt phalavaty ajanandane
śamarate 'maratejasi pārthıve [16]

The first two words in the fourth line can very well be dropped without any detriment to the meaning of the verse. The only defect will be a big gap in the verse and the absence of the yamaka.

In the next verse also there is nothing specific. The country is once more spoken of as prosperous under the protection of Daśaratha.

daśadigantajitā raghunā yathā
śriyam apuṣyad ajena tataḥ param
tam adhigamya tathaiva punar babhau
na na mahīnam ahīnaparākramam.[17]

Further there is the presence of a double negative in the last line. Usually a double negative denies some possible absence.[18] That is what is found in many places:

nāsau na kāmyo na ca veda samyag
draṣṭum na sā bhinnarucir hi lokaḥ.[19]

There is a possibility that he is not lovable. This possibility is denied in the verse. There is a further possibility that she is not capable of selecting what is lovable. This possibility too is denied. Again

āśāsyam ītivigamaprabhṛti prajānām
sampatsyate na khalu goptari nāgnimitre.[20]

There is the possibility of there being no freedom from national calamities. Such a possibility is denied here. Such is what we find in the following verse:

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[16] Ragh. IX-4

[17] Ragh. IX-5

[18] Cf. sambhāvyaniṣedhanivartane dvau pratisedhau (Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra V-i-9)

[19] Ragh. VI-30

[20] Bharatavākya in the Mālavikāgnimitra

na ca na paricito na cāpy aramyaḥ.[21]

In the verse under discussion, what is wanted is something more than the denial of a probability of the country, after the days of prosperity under Raghu and Aja, not being prosperous. In all other places the probability suggested has a value in the context. It is thus. Taking the first quotation, there is the probability that among the kings assembled at the marriage function, all may not be lovable. That is what can happen. Similarly, the bride, being a young maiden, may not be in a position to distinguish between those who are lovable and who are not. In the second quotation, what is ordinarily experienced in the world is that even in the reign of the most virtuous king, there are national calamities arising, and for the avoidance of such calamities, devine assistance is invoked. In the case of Agnimitra there is no such probability.

In the present context, I see no propriety in suggesting the probability that after the reign of Raghu and Aja, there can be decay in the country.

In the sixth verse, Daśaratha is compared to Yama, Kubera, Varuṇa and Sūrya.

samatayā vasuvṛṣṭivisarjanair
niyamanād asatām ca narādhipaḥ
anuyayau yamapuṇyajaneśvarau
savaruṇāv aruṇāgrasaram rucā.[22]

In the third verse, the king was compared to Indra. Here he is compared to four other gods. In the point of comparing with gods, there is repetition, though the gods are different. Further vasuvṛṣṭivisarjana is clumsy. Vasuvṛṣṭi or vasuvisarjana would have been enough.

In the seventh verse, there is the description of king's freedom from worldly destractions.

na mṛgayābhiratir na durodaram
na ca śaśipratimābharaṇam madhu

[21] Mālavikāgnimitra I-11

[22] Ragh. IX-6

tam udayāya na vā navayauvanā
priyatamā yatamānam apāharat.[23]

In the last line there is the fault of syntactical unity between distant words (dūrānvaya), a fault which Kālidāsa never commits The description here is contradicted by the later narration of incidents connected with the life of Daśaratha. Here it is said that hunting never dragged him away from the path of progress. But after this long description of the king there follows the description of the spring season[24] and the description of the hunting.[25] During the hunting, the king forgets all his duties, entrusting the administration of the kingdom to his ministers. This is what is said later:

iti vismṛtānyakaranīyam ātmanah
sacivāvalambitadhuram dharādhipam
parivṛddharāgam anubaddhasevayā
mṛgayā jahāra catureva kāminī.[26]

Here it is said that hunting dragged the king away (from his duty of administration) as a clever damsel. And the simile becomes extremely inappropriate after saying earlier that damsels could not drag him away from his duties. In this hunting, he discharges an arrow at a young resident of the penance grove, and there also there is the apology:

nṛpateḥ pratiṣiddham eva tat
kṛtavān paṅktiratho vilaṅkhya yat
apathe padam arpayanti hi
śrutavanto 'pi rajonimīlitāh.[27]

These two incidents, that of entrusting the administration of the kingdom to his ministers for the purpose of hunting and attempting to kill a wild elephant, which is prohibited, may well be compared with similar incidents in the earlier portion of the epic:

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[23] Ragh. IX-7
[24] Ragh. IX-25 to 47
[25] Ragh. 49 to 73
[26] Ragh. IX-69
[27] Ragh. IX-74

santānārthāya vidhaye svabhujād avatāritā
tena dhūr jagato gurvī saciveṣu nyacikṣipe.[28]

and

tam āpatantam nṛpater avadhyo
vanyaḥ karīti śrutavān kumāraḥ
nivartayiṣyan viśikhena kumbhe
jaghāna nātyāyatakṛṣṭaśārṅgaḥ.[29]

Who can say that these two sets were written by the same poet? Later in the poem there is the description of Daśaratha disinheriting his eldest son Rāma born of the chief queen and promising the throne to the second son born of his favourite queen Kaikeyī (the second queen). There it is said:

tasyābhisekasambhāram kalpitam krūraniścayā
dūṣayāmāsa kaikeyī śokoṣṇaiḥ pārthivāśrubhih[30]
sā kilāśvāsitā caṇḍī bhartrā tatsaṁśrutau varau
udvavāmendrasiktā bhūr bilamagnāv ivoragau[31]
tayoś caturdaśaikena rāma prāvrājayat samāḥ
dvitīyena sutasyaicchad vaidhavyaikaphalām śriyam.[32]

It is true that the poet could not go away from the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. But he could have avoided the contradiction by managing the early description in a way suitable to the trend of the story.

In the eighth verse, the poet speaks of some further qualities of the king:

na kṛpaṇā prabhavaty api vāsave
na vitathā parihāsakathāsv api
na ca sapatnajaneṣv api tena vāg
aparuṣā paruṣākṣaram īritā.[33]

Here it is said that he did not utter suppliant words even to the lordly Indra. But after a few verses it is said that he bowed only to Indra:

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[28] Ragh. I-34
[29] Ragh. V-50
[30] Ragh. XII-4
[31] Ragh. XII-5
[32] Ragh. XII-6
[33] Ragh. IX-8

namayati sma sa kevalam unnatam
vanamuce namucer araye śiraḥ.[34]

This does not amount to a contradiction. Yet it is a little out of taste. At least there is repetition of more or less the same idea in an incoherent way.

In the next three verses the poet describes the king as the emperor of the whole earth.

udayam astamayam ca raghūdvahād
ubhayam ānaśire vasudhādhipāḥ
sa hi nideśam alaṅghayatām abhūd
suhṛd ayohṛdayaḥ pratigarjatām.[35]

The second half here is only a restatement of what was said in the first half.

ajayad ekarathena sa medinīm
udadhinemim adhijyaśarāsanaḥ
jayam aghoṣayad asya tu kevalam
gajavatī javatīvrahayā camūḥ[36]

avanim ekarathena varūthinā
jitavataḥ kila tasya dhanurbhṛtaḥ
vijayadundubhitām yayur arṇavā
ghanaravā naravāhanasampadaḥ.[37]

The first half of the two verses is identical in meaning. In the second half there is the same idea, with a slight difference. The epithet naravāhanasampadaḥ is only a repetition of what was already said in the sixth verse.[38] The epithet has absolutely no purpose in the context. As a matter of fact there are more words in these two verses that can well be dispensed with without any detriment to the meaning.

In the next verse there is a comparison of the king with Indra. There was already such a comparison in the third verse.

[34] Ragh. IX-22
[35] Ragh. IX-9
[36] Ragh. IX-10
[37] Ragh. IX-11
[38] anuyayau yamapuṇyajaneśvarau

śamitapakṣabalaḥ śatakotinā
śikhariṇām kuliśena purandaraḥ
sa śaravṛṣṭimucā dhanuṣā dviṣām
svanavatā navatāmarasānanah.[39]

The whole of the last line can be omitted without touching the sense of the verse. And what an inappropriate epithet is navatāmarasānanah. Is this the quality that justifies his exterminating the enemies?

After this unnecessary intrusion, the idea of the king being the overlord of the whole earth is continued in two more verses.

caraṇayor nakharāgasamṛddhibhir
mukuṭaratnamarīcibhir aspṛśan
nṛpatayaḥ śataśo maruto yathā
śatamagham tam aghaṇḍitapaurusam.[40]
nivavṛte sa mahārṇavarodhasaḥ
sacivakāritabālasutāñjalīn
samanukampya sapatnaparigrahān
analakān alakānavamām purīm.[41]

Thus it is found that there are five verses where the king's conquest of the whole earth is described in different words. One does not see such a repetition in the descriptions of the first three kings in the Raghuvaṁśa.

In the next verse it is said that though he was without a rival as emperor, he was still vigilant:

upagato 'pi ca maṇḍalanābhitām
anuditānyasitātapavāraṇaḥ
śriyam avekṣya sa randhracalām abhūd
analaso 'nalasomasamadyutih[42]

There is a feeling that one is reading through works like the Kirātārjunīya or the Śiśupālavadha, where one is not able to move forward. However much we read, we still feel that we are at the same point in the descriptions.

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[39] Ragh. IX-12
[40] Ragh. IX-13
[41] Ragh. IX-14
[42] Ragh. IX-15

In the next verse also the total meaning is that wealth abided only in Viṣṇu and in the king:

tam apahāya kakutsthakulodbhavam
puruṣam ātmabhuvam ca pativratā
nṛpatım anyam asevata devatā
sakamalā kam alāghavam arthiṣu.[43]

Can one come across a worse jumble of ideas? Śrī is expressed as the goddess with a lotus, an unnecessary complication. It is true that Kālidāsa sometimes expresses a simple idea in complicated phraseology. At the end of the second canto in the Raghuvaṁśa we find the verse:

atha nayanasamuttham jyotir atrer iva dyauḥ.[44]

where the expression candram iva dyauḥ would have been enough. Then, Śrī is described as pativratā and in the same line as living with both Viṣṇu and the king.

In the next two verses it is stated that he had three queens. In the second he is also described as Indra come down to the earth. He was already compared to Indra on previous occasions in this very description in the third verse and also in the thirteenth verse. This is the third time that the point is taken up.

tam alabhanta patim patidevatāḥ
śikhariṇām iva sāgaram āpagāḥ
magadhakosalakekayaśāsinām
duhitaro 'hitaropitamārganam.[45]
priyatamābhir asau tisṛbhir babhau
tısṛbhir eva bhuvam saha śaktıbhiḥ
upagato vininīṣur iva prajā
harihayo 'rıhayogavicakṣaṇaḥ.[46]

In the first verse, there is some inappropriateness in the enumeration of the three queens in this order, and Mallinātha notes this. In the second verse, the word arihayogavicakṣaṇaḥ is inappropriate and rather clumsy.

[43] Ragh. IX-16
[44] Ragh. II-75
[45] Ragh. IX-17
[46] Ragh. IX-18

In this second verse, the king is described as Indra himself come down to the earth to keep order among men Then the next verse says that the king went to heaven to help Indra against the enemies This shows a little of thought confusion.

sa kila saṁyugamūrdhni sahāyatām
maghavataḥ pratipadya mahārathah
svabhujavīryam agāpayad ucchritam
suravadhūr avadhūtabhayāḥ śaraih. [47]

In the next three verses there is a description of the king as performing sacrifices.

kratuṣu tena visarjitamaulinā
bhujasamāhṛtadigvasunā krtāḥ
kanakayūpasamucchrayaśobhino
vitamasā tamasāsarayūtaṭāḥ. [48]
ajinadaṇḍabhrtam kuśamekhalām
yatagiram mṛgaśṛṅgaparigrahām
adhivasaṁs tanum adhvaradīkṣitām
asamabhāsam abhāsayad īśvarah. [49]
avabhṛtaprayato niyatendriyaḥ
surasamājasamākramaṇocitaḥ
namayati sma sa kevalam unnatam
vanamuce namucer araye śiraḥ. [50]

In the second of the three verses, he is described as the God Śiva himself occupying the body of the king. In the eighteenth verse he was described as Indra come down to the earth. In the third of the three verses, he is spoken of as bowing his head only to Indra, while in a previous verse, it has been said that he never uttered a suppliant word even to the lordly Indra.

In the next verse there is once more the statement that the king helped Indra in his wars against the demons, just what was said already in the nineteenth verse.

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[47] Ragh. IX-19
[48] Ragh. IX-20
[49] Ragh. IX-21
[50] Ragh. IX-22

asakrd ekarathena tarasvinā
harihayāgrasareṇa dhanurbhrtā
dinakarābhimukhā ranarenavo
rurudhıre rudhirena suradvisām [51]

This closes the description. And compared to the descriptions of the first three kings, this is a fairly long one too. What is the net result of such a long description ?

And after this long description of the king being Indra and Śiva, being the overlord of the whole earth, in a later portion of the epic he is mentioned as coward. In the eleventh canto, Paraśurāma appears on the way of Daśaratha proceeding to Ayodhyā from Videha after the marriage of his sons with the daughters of the Videha king. At that time Daśaratha begins to tremble as the approach of the terrible adversary of the Kṣatriyas.

nāma rāma iti tulyam ātmaje
vartamānamahite ca dāruṇe
hṛdyam asya bhayadāyi cābhavad
ratnajātam iva hārasarpayoḥ. [52]
arghyam arghyam iti vādinam nṛpam
so 'navekṣya bharatāgrajo yataḥ
kṣatrakopadahanārciṣam tataḥ
sandadhe dṛśam udagratārakām. [53]

This narration at the later stage is quite a contradiction of what was said when the king was described in the nineth canto.

In the descriptions of the first three kings, there is the prominence given to some aspect and the whole description results in a definite picture. Here there is no aspect that is prominent. There is no final picture also. Here what we have is only a series of pictures. The hero is taken up and presented in various settings. Some of these descriptions are later contradicted by the events narrated.

[51] Ragh. IX-23

[52] Ragh. XI-68

[53] Ragh. XI-69

There are very few ideas brought together in this long description. Wealth and prosperity,[54] equality with various gods,[55] identity with some gods,[56] conquest of the world,[57] performance of sacrifices,[58] this is the total subject matter of the description. Many words are repeated, like ekaratha[59] and mahāratha.[60] There are many epithets that have no definite purpose in the context and in some cases they are inappropriate to the context.

In the description of Dilīpa there is not a single word, not a single epithet that is not an integral part of the description; there is not a single word, not a single epithet that is not wanted in the context. But if one examines the description of Daśaratha, it would be noted that more than half can easily be omitted. They are introduced only to fill up the metre or to construct the yamaka. Let me show what portion of the description is actually wanted.

(1) pitur anantaram uttarakosalān samadhigamya Daśarathaḥ praśaśāsa (2) adhigatam vidhivad yad apālayat prakṛtimaṇḍalam ātmakulocitam abhavad asya tato guṇavattaram (3) ubhayam eva vadanti manīṣiṇaḥ samayavarṣitayā kṛtakarmaṇām balaniṣūdanam arthapatim ca tam (4) janapade na gadaḥ padam ādadhāv abhibhavah kuta eva sapatnajaḥ kṣitir abhūt phalavaty ajanandane pārthive (5) raghuṇā yathā śriyam apaśyad ajena tatah param tam adhigamya tathaiva punar babhau na na mahīnam. In these verses the rest can be omitted; (11) the word naravāhanasampadaḥ is not wanted, (12) the word navatāmarasānanaḥ is unwanted and inappropriate, (14) alakānavamām serves no other purpose than to adjust the yamaka, (15) analasomasamadyutiḥ is unwanted, (16) kakutsthakulodbhavam is not of any particular significance, (17) ahita-

[54] In verses 2, 4, 16.

[55] In verses 3, 6, 12, 13.

[56] In verses 18, 21.

[57] In verses 9 to 11, 13, 14, 15.

[58] In verses 20 to 22.

[59] In verses 10, 11, 23.

[60] In verses 1, 19.

ropitamārgaṇam is unwanted and inappropriate, (18) arihayogavicakṣanaḥ is clumsy and not of any special significance; (19) we had the word mahārathaḥ already in the first verse, (23) ekarathena had already appeared in verses 10 and 11. Thus it will be noted that in more than half the number of verses, unwanted and sometimes inappropriate words are introduced simply to adjust the yamaka. This is not quite creditable to a poet.

It must be admitted that even in the earlier cantos the pōet has indulged in some kinds of śabdālankāra. As a matter of fact, Kālidāsa introduces śabdālaṅkāra rather profusely. But it is not very glaring. His śabdālaṅkāras flow into the rythm, just as the moderate ornaments on the body of a handsome leady harmonise with the physical beauty. One can easily detect the difference between the first verses in the Śiśupālavadha and the Naiṣadhīyacarita on the one side and in the Raghuvaṁśa and in the Kumārasaṁbhava on the other side.

śriyaḥ patiḥ śrīmati śāsitum jagaj
jagannivāso vasudevasadmani
vasan dadarśāvatarantam ambarād
dhiraṇyagarbhāṅgabhuvam munim hariḥ
(Śiśupālavadha)

nipīya yasya kṣitirakṣiṇaḥ kathās
tathādriyante na budhās sudhām api
nalas sitacchatritakīrtimaṇḍalaḥ
sa rāśir āsīn mahasam maghojjvalaḥ
(Naiṣadhīyacarita)

vāgarthāv iva sampṛktau vāgarthapratipattaye
jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatīparameśvarau
(Raghuvaṁśa)

asty uttarasyām diśi devatātmā
himālayo nāma nagādhirājaḥ
pūrvāparau vārinidhī vagāhya
sthitaḥ pṛthivyā iva mānadaṇḍaḥ
(Kumārasaṁbhava)

It will be noted that in the last two verses there are repetitions of the

same sound in succession ; but such repetitions are not so glaring as in the first two verses. In the former set of two verses, the śabdālaṅkāra is an external decoration falling outside the inherent beauty of the verses In the latter set, the śabdālaṅkāra is an integral part of the verse and is not noticed as a projection from the flowing rythm.

The śabdālankāra in the following verses is much more pronounced :

sa duṣprāpayaśāḥ prāpad āśramam śrāntavāhanaḥ
sāyam saṁyaminas tasya maharṣer mahiṣīsakhaḥ [61]

Here the word duṣprāpayaśāḥ is not quite wanted and serves only for the śabdālaṅkāra.

tasmai sabhyāḥ sabhāryāya goptre guptatamendriyaḥ
arhanām arhate cakrur munayo nayacakṣuṣe [62]
athātharvanidhes tasya vijitāripuraḥ purah
arthyām arthapatir vācam ādade vadatām varaḥ [63]
tato mrgendrasya mṛgendragāmī
vadhāya vadhyasya śaram śaraṇyaḥ
jātābhiṣaṅgo nṛpatir niṣaṅgād
uddhartum aicchat prasabhoddhṛtāriḥ [64]
tam āryagrhyam nigṛhītadhenur
manuṣyavācā manuvaṁśaketum
vismāpayan vismitam ātmavṛttau
siṁhorusattvam nijagāda siṁhaḥ [65]
sa mṛṇmaye vītahiraṇmayatvāt
pātre nidhāyārghyam anarghaśīlaḥ
śrutaprakāśam yaśasā prakāśaḥ
pratyujjagāmātithim ātitheyaḥ [66]

[61] Ragh. I-48

[62] Ragh. I-55

[63] Ragh. I-59

[64] Ragh. II-30

[65] Ragh. II-33

[66] Ragh. V-2

There is śabdālankāra in these and in many other places in the earlier portion of the Raghuvaṁśa ; and when śabdālaṅkāra comes in, there is a slight fall in the meaning ; unnecessary words find a place in the verse. So when in this paper I pointed out instances of unnecessary words appearing in the nineth canto where yamaka is very prominent and deliberate, I did not bring them as an evidence of this canto not being from the pen of Kālidāsa, although in my opinion this canto is not a part of the work of Kālidāsa. What I wanted to show is only the great difference between the description of Dilīpa in the first canto and of Daśaratha in the nineth canto.

TWO NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

PROF. D. R. MANKAD, M.A., Karachi

(1) *The earliest phase—a monologue*

In my book 'The Types of Sanskrit Drama',[1] while discussing the origin of Sanskrit drama I have said, "If this theory of gradual evolution of our नृत्त, नृत्य and नाट्य types as detailed above is correct, we shall have to distinguish between certain stages of growth even in the नाट्य types (*i.e.*, rūpakas) themselves. There will be roughly four distinct periods.

(1) The earliest phase of the evolution of our नाट्य types would be represented by a form which required only one actor and one act.

(2) नाट्य in its second period required many actors but still had one act.

(3) Third period is represented by less complicated types with many acts.

(4) Finally the fourth phase is represented by the full-fledged नाटक and प्रकरण types, which when fully developed, gradually sent the other types into oblivion."

With regard to these conclusions some may become sceptic about the above first stage. But I now find that the Greek drama, as is testified by Aristotle, has also passed through a similar process. In his Poetics[2] it is said:

"Tragedy, after various changes, reposed at length in the completion of its proper form. Aeschylus first added a second actor; he also abridged the chorus, and made the dialogue the principle part of tragedy. Sophocles increased the number of actors to three and added the decoration of painted scenery.

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1 D. R. Mankad, The Types of Sanskrit Drama, 1936, p. 165 and also pp. 77-88

2 Poetics, Everyman's Library, no. 901, p. 11 and 12.

The successive improvement of tragedy, and the respective authors of them, have not escaped our knowledge ; but those of comedy from the little attention that was paid to it in its origin, remain in obscurity...... but who first introduced masks or prologues or augmented the number of actors—these and other particulars of the same kind are unknown."

It is thus clear that according to Aristotle, the Greek tragedy as well as comedy *i. e.* Greek drama in general had first only one actor, then had two and then more It is also evident that a drama which had only one actor could not have had more than one act.

Thus the earliest Greek drama was a monologue and I put, before the scholars this fact in corroboration of the theory advocated by me that earliest Sanskrit dramatic type was a monologue and was known by the name of Bhāṇa. Our theory allows one actor for Bhāṇa but one or two actors to Vīthī. This, I think preserves the knowledge about the stages of augmenting the number of actors in our drama.

(2) *Actual specimens of the Nṛtya-types*

In my book 'The Types of Sanskrit Drama' I have discussed the question of the growth of rūpakas and uparūpakas. I have shown there that what are called uparūpakas are by others called Nṛtya-types and with regard to these Nṛtya-types I have demonstrated that they were at first musical only *i. e.* were such dramatic shows in which some theme composed in musical songs was interpreted before the audience by the actors by means of music, dancing and gestures. At that stage these Nṛtya-types had no prose dialogue in them, which was added later and it was at some such time that they came to be designated uparūpakas.

But I was not able to point out any extant examples of such Nṛtya-types except those that were quoted by our dramaturgical works, but which are not available to us to-day. Here I wish to point out that a whole class of poems have existed from a very remote time and which are nothing else but these Nṛtya-types in their musical form.

We have in Apabhraṁśa and old Gujarātī, a number of poems called rāsas and phāgus which are, from their technical nature worthy of closer study. They belong to the literature of a provincial language and there-

fore probably have not attracted the attention of the Sanskrit scholars. There is also another reason why they attracted no notice. Upto quite recent times, hardly any specimens were published. There existence was long known to us, but actual specimens were hardly available to the scholars. Now at any rate, we have some specimens of this type published. And Prof. K. K. Shastree, in his Gujarātī book 'Āpṇā Kavio', which is a detailed survey of Apabhraṁśa and old Gujarātī literature from the 6th century to the 19th century, has given quite a wealth of information about this class of poems. Works like Bharateśvarabāhubalirāsa are already published[3] and a number of such other poems await publication. These works published and unpublished leave no doubt in my mind that they represent the Nṛtya-types described by Bhāvaprakāśa and others. I shall show how. I have shown in my book that rāsaka, nāṭyarāsaka, hallīsaka goṣṭhī, ḍombī etc., were variants of the same type and originally they were all musical in nature. They had the following characteristics. (1) They were composed in poetry. (2) There was no prose in them. (3) Its poetry was musical. (4) They wove into them some popular story which was sung before the audience. (5) Their recital was accompanied with gestures and dances of different kinds. Therefore they had an abundance of dancing and music in them.

These characteristics, I wish to point out, are present in these rāsas and phāgus. (1) These rāsas and phāgus contain themes which describe either some story or some seasonal beauty. Rāsas mostly have a story for their subject-matter while phāgus have some seasonal descriptions like Ṛtusaṁhāra. (2) These rāsas and phāgus were composed in such metres and tunes as were essentially musical. A casual glance at Prof. Shastree's book will show that these works had metres like Paddhaḍī, Ghattā, Dhaüla, Sārasī, Hānḍhakī, Vastu, Dvipadī etc. All these are scientifically singable tunes. That they were so musical is noted by a commentator also[4] :

चर्चरीरासकप्रख्ये प्रबन्धे प्राकृते त्रि.ल ।
वृत्तिप्रवृत्तिं नाधत्ते प्रायः कोऽपि विचक्षणः ॥

[3] Also सन्देशरासक and some rāsas published in प्राचीन गुर्जरकाव्य (G. O. S.)

[4] See Apabhraṁśakāvyatrayī, p. 29.

अत्र पद्धटिकाबन्धे मात्रा षोडश पादगाः ।
अयं सर्वेषु रागेषु गीयते गीतकोविदैः ॥

This will show that these works were composed in tunes which were essentially musical.[5]

Again these rāsas had in them an abundance of dance element and were actually played in the fashion of an elementary dance-play. Following quotations from Prof. Shastree's book will make this clear.

(१) रंगिहि **रमइ** जो रासु सिरिविजयसेणसूरिनिम्मविउ ए etc. p. 175.
रेवंतगिरिरासु by विजयसेनसूरि (V. S. 1288)

(२) एहु वीवाहलउ जे पढहिं दियहि
खेला खेलिय रंगभरि
ताह जिणेसरसूरि सुपसन्नु
इम भणइ भविय गणि सोमसुत्ति (P. 191) V. S. 1331

(३) **खेलसि** स लियइं रंगि रास......(P. 203 Same as above)

(४) देवालइ बालीय नयणि विसालीय दिंतीय ताली रंगि फिरती हरिसभरे ।
तहिं **नाचइं खेला** बहुयत वेला बाला भोला **लउडारसि रमइं** ॥ (P. 203)
पेथडरास V. S. 1356

(५) जलवटनाटकु जोइ नवरंग ए **रास लउडारस** ए (P. 221) अंबदेवसूरिः समरारास (V. S. 1371)

(६) खरतरगच्छि जिणपदमसूरि किय फागु **रमेवउ** ।
खेला नाचइं चैत्रमासि रंगिहि गावेवउ ॥ (P. 233) जिनपद्मसूरिः सिरिथूलिभद्द-फागु (V. S. 1390)

(७) राजलदेविसउं सिद्धि गयउ सो देउ थुणीजइ ।
मलहारिहिं रायसिहरसूरिहिं किउ **फागु रमीजइ** ॥ (P. 244) राजशेखरसूरिः नेमिनाथ फागु (V. S. 1405)

(८) नाचइ ए नयण विशाल चंदवयणि मन रंगभरे ।
नवरंगि **ए रासु रमंति खेला खेलिय** सुपरिवरे (P. 281) ज्ञानकलशमुनिः जिनोदयसूरिपट्टाभिषेकरास (V. S. 1415)

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[5] That both rāsa and phāgu designated particular musical tunes also is clear from the fact that Somasundara Suri (V. S. 1430-99) in his Rangasāgaraniminathaphāgu actually employs these two tunes. (See Prof. Shastree's book p. 333.)

These references will leave no doubt that these rāsas and phāgus were actually played (√khel or √ram) or enacted in accompaniment with dance and music. That they are only musical in nature and have no mixture of prose in them is self-evident. That they were actually played before an audience is clear from references such as the following:

In his commentary on the first verse of Sandeśa Rāsaka, Lakṣmīcandra says: ग्रन्थप्रारम्भे अमीष्टदेवताप्रणिधानप्रधाना प्रेक्षावतां प्रवृत्तिः etc.

(See Kavi Abdul Rahman's Sandeśa Rāsaka printed in Bhāratīya Vidya, Vol. II, part 1. Oct. 1941.)

I, therefore, suggest that these works belong to that class of musical-dramatic *i. e.* operatic spectacles which is termed Nṛtya-prakāra by Bhāvaprakāśa and Geyarūpaka by Vāgbhaṭta and Hemacandra. Their existence prove to the hilt what I said about Nṛtya-types in my book. It is, however, true that the earliest extant rāsa which we at present know of, is Bharateśvarabāhubalirāsa of V. S. 1241., but it is certain that the class of works represented by this rāsa and scores of other rāsas of the same kind, continued to exist long before V. S. 1241. It is also true that all these rāsas are composed in provincial Apabhraṁśas and no work of the type written in Sanskrit is known to us. But I should point out that Gītagovinda of Jayadeva belonging to the 11th century, should now be taken either as a rāsa or as a phāgu (which is a variant of rāsa). It has all the characteristics enumerated above. It has a story (or narration) all told in musical poems. It was actually played before the andience.[6] Its form of dialogue renders it most suitable for being performed on a stage. It is eminently suited to be performed in accompaniment with various types of dance and gestures. All this is enough to show that Gītagovinda was a geyarūpaka and is to be styled either as a rāsaka or a nāṭyarāsaka of the musical type.[7] And on the face of it Gītagovinda is

[6] Third verse of the 1st Sarga has ' yadi vilāsakalāsu kutūhalam ' which shows that Jayadeva intened the poem to be performed before an audience. That is why in his introductory remark to this verse, Śaṅkaramiśra in his Rasamañjarī says " Samprati *prekṣāvat* pravṛtyartham etc. "

[7] It might have been a forerunner of the modern yātrās. Cf Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 191-192

no innovation by Jayadeva.[8] On the contrary it represents the perfection to which this class of works reached. Therefore also a long chain of such works both in the provincial Apabhraṁśas and in Sanskrit, has to be postulated as existing long before 1000 A. D.

From this point of view the well-known Rtusaṁhāra may well be classified as a phāgu-kāvya. It has all the characteristics described above. Its metres, though all of them classical, are fit to be sung. Whole of it is addressed by a lover to his beloved and thus forms a narration of seasonal beauties in easy flowing metres. This may take the date of the actual specimens of these geyarūpakas to the 4th century at least.

[8] We now know that Kṛṣṇa Līlāśuka (who was slightly earlier than Jayadeva) has composed Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta which, according to Mr. Krishnamachariar (See his Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 336.) is the poem familiar among gesturdancers. Gītagovinda, therefore, is not an innovation of Jayadeva.

LAND-OWNERSHIP DURING THE GUPTA-PALLAVA PERIOD

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M. A., LL. B., D. LITT.,
Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Benares Hindu University

The late Āchārya Ānandashankar Bāpubhāi Dhruva bore a surname, which was the title of an officer intimately connected with the administration of land revenue.[1] It would therefore be not inappropriate to contribute an article to his commemoration volume dealing with the problem of the ownership of land in ancient India. I propose to study the subject rather intensively in this paper; I would therefore confine myself only to a small period of ancient Indian history, which may conveniently be described as the Gupta-Pallava period, from *c.* 300 to *c.* 800 A. D. I shall base my conclusions on purely historical and official documents of the period, dealing with the gifts, sales and transfers of landed property. The views of the contemporary Smṛti writers will be only passingly referred to for comparison. This method will ensure a thoroughly reliable conclusion; there is no danger whatever of our being misled by the theories of Smṛtis, which are suspected as utopian in some quarters.

It is well known that scholars are sharply divided on the question of the ownership of landed property in ancient India. Some point out that Manu definitely held that the king was the *adhipati* or owner of all lands in his kingdom,[2] an opinion shared by Bhaṭṭasvāmī the commentator of the *Arthaśāstra*[3] and confirmed by the testimony of greek writers.[4] They

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1 Dhruva was an officer in charge of the supervision of crops to ensure that the tenants and the state received their proper shares. It should be remembered that the land-tax was a share of the actual produce of the particular year, hence the need of supervision.

2 निधीनां तु पुराणानां धातूनामेव च क्षितौ। अर्धभाग्रक्षणाद्राजा भूमेरधिपतिर्हि सः। VIII. 39

3 राजा भूमेः पतिर्दृष्टः शास्त्रज्ञैरुदकस्य च। ताभ्यामन्यत्तु यद् द्रव्यं तत्र स्वाम्यं कुटुम्बिनाम्॥

4 While Deodorus states that all land was property of the king and that no private person was allowed to own land.

therefore support the theory of the state ownership of land. Other scholars on the other hand point out that the views of Manu and Bhattasvāmī are couched in figurative and hyperbolic language and that the statements of Greek authorities may be referring to crown lands only and therefore of not much value. On the other hand a number of authorities like the *Pūrvamīmāṁsā*[5] and the *Vyavahāramayūkha*[6] definitely assert that the king is not the owner of land, which they point out belongs to the private proprietors in possession and ownership of it. It is argued that this definite view should be regarded as conclusive.

Before proceeding further, it may be observed that the point at issue can be clinched down further by remembering that there is no difference of opinion as far as the ownership of waste and marshy lands and jungles and mines is concerned. All authorities agree that it vested in the state and epigraphical evidence also supports that conclusion. Thus when king Samudrasena made the grant of a village in *c.* 600 A.D. in the Kangra valley, he conveyed to the donee the ownership over the marshy and jungle lands included in the village boundaries.[7] A number of inscriptions have been found in Bengal belonging to the 5th and the 6th centuries A.D., which clearly show that the ownership in the waste and uncultivated lands was vested in the state; plots from them could be sold only with the consent of the village or town council and the state.[8] The intending purchaser had to apply to the town or the village council under whose jurisdiction the land was situated, expressing his willingness to purchase it at the usual rate. If the transaction was approved by the council, it would sanction

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[5] न भूमिः स्यात्सर्वान्प्रति अविशिष्टत्वात् । VI. 7. 3. Cf. the remarks of S'abara on this passage:-

य इदानीं सार्वभौमः स तर्हि (भूमि) दास्यति । सोऽपि नेति ब्रूमः । कुतः । यावता भोगेन सार्वभौमो भूमेरीष्टे तावता सोपि । न तत्र कश्चिद्विशेषः । सार्वभौमत्वे अस्य त्वेतदधिकं यदसौ पृथिव्या सम्भूतानां व्रीह्यादीनां रक्षणेन निर्विष्टस्य कस्यचिद्भागस्येष्टे न भूमेः ॥

[6] तत्तद्ग्रामक्षेत्रादौ स्वत्वं तु तत्तद्भौमिकानामेव । राज्ञां तु करग्रहणमात्रम् । स्वत्वागम chapter.

[7] Fleet, *Corpus*, p. 289

[8] See, Damodarpur and Faridpur grants, E. I. vol. XV, pp. 130 ff and *I. A.*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 195 ff.

the sale.[9] If such land was sold for being gifted to a temple, it was believed that the king would also get a share in the merit of the transaction [10] It is clear that the state ownership in waste lands was distributed partly in the central government and partly in the town or village councils.

Epigraphical evidence to support the theory of the state ownership in the arable lands during our period is indeed not strong It is argued that the Kaskudi and Bahur grants prove the state ownership of such lands in South India during the Pallava rule in the 8th and the 9th centuries A D. The expression, *Mun perrarai marri*, used in these records no doubt refers to the dispossession of the former tenants. It need not however have been expropriation without compensation. The lands donated were being cultivated by tenants previously selected by the state. Now that they were being transferred to the donors, it was but equitable that the state should withdraw its own tenants, so that the new owners should have new lease-holders of their own choice. As pointed out by Dr. Minakshi, the word *mārri* simply means, 'having changed tenants, who held the land before[11].' There is therefore no question of the state dispossessing any private land owner foi making any donation.

The phraseology used in some early Maitraka land-grants of the 5th and the 6th centuries A. D. may lend colour to the theory that the doctrine of the state ownership of land was recognised in ancient Gujarat and Kathiawar: or at any rate, it enabled the king to grant away in charity a piece of land belonging to a private owner with or without compensation. We may refer here to four relevant records.

1. The Palitana plates of Dhruvasena I, issued in 529 A. D, give two fields in charity, one of which is described as *kutumbi-Īśvara-pratyaya* and the other as *Dhiṇḍaka-pratyaya* [12].

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[9] The price was usually three *Dīnāras* (= 2½ tolas) of gold per *Kulyāvāpa*.

[10] Cf. तद्दीयतामस्य परमभट्टारकमहाराजपादेन पुण्योपचयायेति, Damodarpur Plate, no. 4.

[11] Minakshi: *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 147.

[12] *E. I.*, Vol, XI, p. 107

2. The Bhavnagar plate of the same ruler and the same year grants a field which is described as *Chandravaṣkambha-pratyaya*[13].

3. In the Wala grant of the same ruler,[14] the village Pippalaruṅkhari is given and a warning is administered that no one should obstruct the donee in getting whatever is grown in the village,—*yattatra utpadyate.*

4. Another plate from Palitana[15] gives a field which has been explicitly described as *Brāhmaṇa-Viśākha-prabhukta-kṣetra.* It is clear that a field which was being enjoyed by this Brāhmaṇa till the date of the grant has been taken away from him by the king with or without his consent and given to another Brāhmaṇa. It is clear that if there was private ownership of land, it could be easily negatived by the state proceeding to grant it away to another person.

A careful examination of these four records however shows that they do not necessarily imply state ownership of private lands. The three fields which are granted away in records Nos. 1 and 2 are no doubt named after individuals, but this need not imply that they were then the actual owners thereof. Even now fields are known after individuals and the nomenclature persists several decades even after the death of persons, after whom they were originally named. The present writer owns field in his village Alte in Kolhapur state, which is still called Tarabai's field, although more than fifty years have elapsed since the death of Tarabai, who once owned the field, giving rise to its nomenclature. It is quite possible that the three fields referred to in the two records may have once belonged to the individuals after whom they were named, and may later have lapsed to the crown for want of heirs. They being the last owners, the fields may have continued to be named after them even when they had become state property.

It has to be further emphasised in this connection that the term *pratyaya* occurring in expressions like *kuṭumbi-Īśvara-pratyaya-kṣetram* does not mean 'property' of so and so. Pratyaya never has the sense of

[13] *Ibid*, Vol. XV, p. 257

[14] *I. A.*, Vol. V, p. 105

[15] *E. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 108

ownership; it denotes fame or reputation and the expression would mean, 'field famed or named after the farmer Īśvara'.

The record No. 3 above no doubt apparently authorises the donee to get everything that is grown in the village,-*yattatra utpadyate*, this may, if literally interpreted, authorise the donee to claim the produce from fields owned by private owners also. This however would be too wide an interpretation to be put on the expression and can be accepted only if there is clear evidence to support it. The revenues of a village are still called its *utpanna* in some vernaculars like Marathi. The expression, *yattatra utpadyate*, may have been therefore figuratively used to denote its government revenues, which were transferred to the donee. Or it may refer to the produce of waste and marshy lands, the ownership of which was vested in the state and could be transferred to the donee. In any case, in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary, we cannot base the theory of state ownership of land on this dubious expression.

The expression *Brāhmaṇa-Viśākha-prabhukta-kshetra* used in the fourth record referred to above no doubt states that the donee Vishṇuśarman was given a field which was then being actually enjoyed by Brāhmana Viśākha. We should however note that after mentioning this field and another which also was given to the donee, the king states that he is confirming an earlier grant; cf. *etan mayā pūrvāchārasthityā anumoditam* It is therefore clear that the grant does not dispossess anybody nor record any new donation. It is probable that Brāhmana Viśākha may have been a sub-tenant or a coheir with him belonging to a junior branch of the family. In any case it is inconceivable that a king who had so implicit a faith in Brahmadeya grants that he was out to grant a charter of reconfirmation would ever have robbed one Brāhmana of his landed property in order to donate it to another.

At present in many villages there are some pieces of arable land, the ownership in which is vested in the state. This is due either to failure of heirs or confiscation for crimes or to some such causes. The same was the case in ancient India. These crown lands are described as *rājyavastu*, property of state, in epigraphical records. Thus a piece of land given in

the Chendlur plates of Kumāraviṣṇu II (*c.* 500 A. D.) is described as state-owned field; cf. *Chendalūragrāme rājyavastu bhūtvā sthitam ksetram.*[16] Kings could transfer full ownership in such pieces of land belonging to the state.

It is noteworthy that when full ownership was transferred to a donee, the size of the land granted was not extensive. Usually small pieces were allotted. Thus the Duda plates of Pravarasena (*c.* 400 A. D.) give 25 *Nivartanas* of land in one village in C. P. and six of them in another.[17] The Peddavegi grant of the Sālaṅkyāyana king Nandivarman II donates four pieces of land measuring 10, 6, 10 and 6 *Nivartanas* respectively situated in four different villages. If the king were the owner of the entire arable land in his kingdom, or possessed the power of dispossessing any owner he liked at his sweet choice, he would not have found it necessary to put the donee to the inconvenience of having to look after four small pieces of land in four different villages. He would have given him a plot of 32 *Nivartanas* in one place. The records like the present one, which are not few in number clearly show that the crown lands in villages were usually small pieces. Several Maitraka records confirm this conclusion.

The view entertained in some quarters that the grant of villages by kings in ancient India implies the theory of the state ownership of land is quite untenable. The grant of villages to temples or Brāhmaṇas did effect no change in the proprietary rights of private owners. The grant only required them to pay the land tax and other specified taxes, if any, to the donee instead of the king. They were further required to treat the donee with courtesy and respect due to a transferee of royal revenues. This is made quite clear by a numbar of records. Thus Karitalai grant of Jayanātha of Uchchhakalpa dynasty in Central India (*c.* 450 A. D.) grants a whole village to a Brāhmaṇa and exhorts its residents to pay the proper and customary dues and taxes, both in cash and kind, to the donee and to treat him with all respect and courtesy.[19] The same

[16] *E. I.*, Vol. p. 235

[17] *E. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 260-2

[18] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 101

[19] Fleet, *Corpus*, Vol. III, p. 118

document, while requesting future kings to continue the grant, pray that they should not resume the grant *by beginning to collect royal dues and taxes.* Conversely, when a piece of royal land is granted to a donee, the residents of the village wherein the land was situated, are not required to show any courtesy to the donee, nor is any private individual authorised to receive its revenues. What was granted to the donee was land itself; what he got was its actual produce, with or without the obligation to pay the land-tax, as may have been fixed in the grant.

That the grant of a village did not mean the transfer to the donee of the ownership in all the arable land situated within its boundaries is made further clear by some records where along with the village granted some land situated in the village is also given to the donee. Thus in the Bitur grant [20] of Kadamba king Visṇuvarman (*c.* 490 A. D.) the donee receives the village of Kaṭaṭtaka along with a specified field of 100 *Nivartanas* situated in it. In another Kadamba grant issued by king Mrgeśvaravarman [21] (*c.* 475 A.D.), hailing from Karnatak, the village Kaḍakalani is given to a Brāhmaṇa along with a plot of land for building a house in it. If the grant of a village meant the transfer of entire ownership in all its lands, arable as well as residential, these records would not further have specified the particular field and the house plot given to the donees.

An analysis of all the available epigraphical evidence of this period thus shows that while the ownership in forests, jungles, marshy lands and waste lands was vested in the state, that in arable lands was vested in private individuals. This ownership was not interfered with by the grants of villages to Brāhmaṇas or temples. Nārada, a Smṛti writer of our period, observes that houses and lands are the *sine qua non* of a peaceful and orderly family life and a king should therefore never interfere with their possession by rightful owners. [22]

We must however add that the ownership in landed property did not permit the owners in ancient India to dispose of the land at their sweet

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20 *E. Carn*, Vol. VI, Kadur no. 162

21 *Ibid*, Vol. VII, sb. no. 33

22 गृहक्षेत्रे च द्वे दृष्टे वासहेतू कुटुम्बिनाम्। तस्मात्ते नोत्क्षिपेद्राजा तद्धि मूलं कुटुम्बिनाम्॥ XIV, 42

will as it does in modern times. An anonymous Smrti text states that even a full-fledged owner of land cannot sell or gift away his piece merely because it is his sweet will to do so. He can effect an alienation only if he gets the assent of heirs, relations, the village community and the king.[23] The reason for this fetter on the rights implied by absolute ownership was the great value attached to landed property and the unwillingness of the village community to admit a stranger or foreigner, whom it may not like within its communal life. It was also felt that the transfer of land was a very important transaction, which should be duly announced in the village and recorded by the state. Epigraphical evidence of our period confirms the above view of the Smṛtis that land alienations should be valid only if they receive royal assent. Thus the Khoh copperplates of king Śarvanātha (512 A.D.) ruling in Central Inida record an assignment by the king of the revenues of half a village to a Brāhmaṇa and the latter's donation of this property to goddess Pistapuradevī. The latter transaction, we are told was assented to by the king.[24] A similar royal assent is recorded in another similar transaction entered into in 533 A.D.[25] in the same locality.

It may be perhaps argued that in the two cases mentioned above royal assent was necessary because the king had just before assigned the revenues to the donees, who were proceeding to convey them to the goddess. In ordinary cases where private individuals sought to sell or gift their own pieces of land, such assent may not be necessary. Such however was not the case. This is made quite clear by three grants from Faridpur[26] in Bengal belonging to the 6th century A D. In all these three records the land sought to be transferred did not belong to the state in recent past. In one case, one private owner sought to sell it to another

[23] स्वग्रामज्ञातिसामन्तदायादानुमतेन च। हिरण्योदकदानेन षड्भिर्गच्छति मेदिनी Quoted by the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, VII, 114.

[24] Cf. एष ग्रामार्धः छोड्डुगोमिकः पुत्रपौत्रक्रमेण दत्तः। अनेनापि ममानुमोदितकं यथा ओपरि-लिखितक्रमेणैव पिष्टपुरकदेव्या दत्तः। Fleet, *Corpus*, Vol. III, p. 131.

[25] Cf. मयापि भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन अनुमोदितौ ॥ *Ibid.*

[26] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp.195 ff

private individual and in the other two cases, private owners were seeking to donate it to a temple. None of the transaction could be completed without formally approaching the council of the village elders with a request that they should sanction it as desired by the transferors. The village council obviously represented the authority of the village community and the state.

To conclude, we find that during the period under review, the state and the village community claimed ownership only in waste, marshy and forest lands. What was the extent of their mutual rights is not easy to make out. All arable land belonged to private proprietors, who could not be dispossessed by the king at his sweet will. Some portion of the arable land would become crown property by causes like failure of heirs. There were however greater fetters on the rights of private proprietors to alienate land they owned than are tolerated in modern times. The assent of the village community and the administration was necessary partly to prevent hasty transactions, partly to secure proper publicity to them and partly to enable the village community to exercise its veto if an undesirable land-owner was sought to be introduced in the locality.

SIṄGABHŪPĀLA

II[1]

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE RASARNAVASUDHAKARA

A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR, M.A., L.T.,
Joint Editor, Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar Library,
Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras

The works of Śiṅgabhūpāla:

Another work *Camatkāracandrikā* is also attributed to our author Siṅga. But Aufrecht has noted it under the name of one Viśveśvara Kavicandra.[2] The Madras Catalogues attribute it to one Viśveśvara Kavi[3] The colophon of the work is clear in stating the name of the author as Viśveśvara Kavi.[4] In the face of such direct evidence, how the work came to be assigned to Siṅgabhūpāla is a mystery which only vague literary traditions of the type of the *Bhojaprabandha* could unravel.

Still, literary traditions are not absolutely unfounded. They have a sub-stratum of truth which they conceal with a good deal of chaff. The clearing of the latter to discover the former, is the duty of every student of History in sifting his material and weighing his evidence.

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1 [The first section of this article was submitted to the Eighth-All-India Oriental Conference held at Mysore in 1935 (December) under the title of

'*The Date of Rasārṇāvasudhākara*'

It was there suggested that the period of the literary activity of the reputed author Siṅgabhūpāla must have been between 1360-1400 A.D.

The present section deals with the authorship of Rasārṇavasudhākara and other works attributed to Siṅgabhūpāla.]

2 Aufrecht *Cat. Cat.* III. p. 39 (b). Eggeling. India Office. Lib. Cat. p. 2683, no. 3966

3 *Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* III B. pp. 3813-3814

4 See, *Ibid*, p. 3814. The colophon states इति सरससाहित्यचातुरीधुर्गणश्रीविश्वेश्वर-कविचन्द्रप्रणीतायां चमत्कारचान्द्रिकायाम् etc.

The *Rasārṇavasudhākara* is largely quoted in the Camatkāracandrikā. The verses in the latter—(each verse illustrating the general rule enunciated in the text)—are in praise of Siṅgabhūpāla. Such verses praising Siṅga are found in the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* as well. "Siṅga has been accepted as an author of repute; and it is therefore not improbable, that the work was written by Siṅga himself." This possibly was the trend of reasoning which induced people to regard *Camatkāracandrikā* as a work of Siṅgabhūpāla. Nor was it thought that, praising oneself in the text would be considered out of taste.

Such suppositions, (of crediting Siṅgabhūpāla) with the authorship of these works) though probable under ordinary circumstances and leading to inferences as stated above, cannot be accepted in the face of direct evidence which assigns the work to another. It is clear that Viśveśvara, a poet of very great merit, was patronized by Siṅgabhūpāla. He wrote the *Camatkāracandrikā* in which the verses from the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* are profusely quoted. This is an evidence to show, that the latter was composed earlier than the former.

It is therefore extremely doubtful whether Siṅga was the real author of *Rasārṇava* itself. The suspicion is stimulated by the presence of a number of verses in the work itself under the heading यथा ममैव.[5] This makes us infer that other works besides *Rasārṇavasudhākara* were also written by the author. He has more than once quoted from a play called *Kandarpa-sambhava* which he calls his own.[6] In the *Camatkāracandrikā*, Kandarpa-samhava is attributed to *Viśveśvara himself*.[7] This

5 The verses quoted in the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* under the heading यथा ममैव are very many and are scattered throughout the first two chapters in the work. I give below the references to the pages where they occur—to the printed edition of the work—in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, no. 50. (Ed. by Dr. T. Ganapati Śāstrī) (1916)—pages, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 35, 39, 49, 54, 60, 65, 66, 67, 68, 92, 95, 104, 122, 148, 151, 159, 181, 182, 184.

6 *Ibid*, see page 151.—" दर्शनेन यथा कन्दर्पसम्भवे ममैव–उभे तदानीमुभयोस्तु चित्ते कदुष्णनिःश्वासचरिष्णुकेन। एकीकरिष्यन्ननुरागशिल्पी रागोष्मणैव द्रवतामनैषीत्॥ "

7 *Triennial Catalogue*, III B., p. 3813-14; also V. Prabhakara Shastri. *Śṛṅgāra Śrīnātham*—chapter 6.

must naturally suggest, that *Rasārṇavasudhākara* must have been written by Viśveśvara and dedicated to Siṅga. Or, the former in allowing the latter to call himself the author did not remove from the work, those evidences which would deny Siṅga the authorship, either by oversight or with a purpose. We can only guess but not dogmatize.

Such instances of poets allowing their works to go out in the names of their patron Kings have been very common. Lolla Lakṣmīdhara wrote the Sarasvatīvilāsa (Dharma) and Pratāparudra Gajapati was styled the author of the work. Cārakuri Laksmīdhara's Commentary on the *Gita-Govinda* of Jayadeva has been fathered upon Thirumala of Vijayanagar. Even the authorship of the works attributed to the great Krishnaraya is equally suspected. It is even surmised that the verses of *Amuktamālyadā* are capable of a double interpretation, one allowing the king to claim the authorship and the other letting out the real author Alaśāni Peddaṇṇa. The Rāmābhyudaya said to be a production of Śaluva Naraśiṅga gives out *Arunagirinātha Ḍiṇḍima* as the real author.[8] Examples can be thus multiplied to prove our point but are held back for want of space. But for very few real exceptions, the administrative duties entailed upon Kings could not have given them either the leisure or the inclination to have devoted so much time as to become authors of repute. In a period when Kings had to devote the greater part of their leisure time in organising their army and keeping the frontiers safe from Mohammaden invasions especially in the north, and when the feudatories in the south were often unreliable, the greatness of kings lies not so much in becoming authors themselves but in finding out men of real merit and giving them all facilities to carry out their intellectual pursuits, without fear of interruption. The preservation of internal peace and keeping men of approved literary merit in affluent circumstances is all that they could be expected from kings

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[8] The colophon to the fifth canto of *Rāmābhyudaya contains* a verse which attributes the work to *Sōnādrinātha Ḍiṇḍima.* See, *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, (1919), p. 85.

Lolla Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* gives a long colophon in which the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* and many other Dharma works, are said to have been written by him. (See, Mysore Sanskrit Series No. 11. of *Saundaryalaharī* by A. Mahadeva Shastri)

of the times. This the Vijayanagara Kings certainly achieved, and more than that their liberal grants kept the scholars in a prosperous condition.

A third work which ought to be attributed to our Singa is a commentary on the *Sangītaratnākara of* Śārṅgadeva, the protege of the Yadava King Singhaṇa. It is this work which gave the wrong hint to Dr. G. Bhandarkar in identifying our Siṅga with the Yadava king. The colophon of this commentary agrees in all particulars with the colophon of the *Rasārṇavasudhākara.*[9] The Trivandrum edition of the work (*Rasārṇavasudhākara*) agrees in all particulars with the Calcutta Edition of the commentary of Sangītaratnākara, and the Madras Manuscript of Seshagiri Shastri of *Rasārṇavasudhākara* excepting for the word अनपोत (Anapota) which is indistinct in the Calcutta Manuscript. P. R. Bhandarkar of Indore has therefore rightly identified the commentator on Saṅgītaratnākara with the author the *Rasārṇavasudhākara*[10] I would further urge in favour of this identification the following considerations.

(a) The name of the commentary on Saṅgītaratnākara is called Sangīta-sudhākara. The work on Dramaturgy is named Rasārnavasudhākara. The common name *sudhākara* indicates the hand of the same author for both the works. The works of the same author with the same name is not a new experience, but one as old as the days of Śrī Śaṅkarā-

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[9] The colophon of the commentary on Saṅgītaratnākara runs thus —इति श्रीमदंभ्रमण्डलाधीश्वर प्रतिगण्डभैरव श्री अनपोत ... ... न भुजबलभीमश्रीसिङ्गभूपालविरचितायां सङ्गीतरत्नाकर-टीकाया सङ्गीतसुधाकराख्यायां etc.
The colophon of the Calcutta MS. of the same work is practically the same— श्रीमदभ्रमण्डलाधीश्वरप्रतिगण्डभैरवश्रीयनवाननरेन्द्रनन्दनभुजबलभीमश्रीसिङ्गभूपालविरचितायाम् etc. The colophon of the *MS.* of the Seshagiri Shastri of the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* is practically the same but gives the name अनपोत without distortion. The Trivandrum edition of the Rasārṇavasudhākara agrees word for word excepting towards the last with the MS. of Seshagiri Shastri. The Adyar Library is now publishing the commentary of *Singabhūpāla* and the second chapter is now passing through the Press. (1943)

[10] *Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference.*—A note on Siṅgabhūpāla the reputed author of commentary on Saṅgītaratnākara, by P. K. Gode, M.A., Poona.

cārya. All his commentaries on the Upaniṣads are called Bhāṣyas. Śivānanda Yati commenting on the Bhāṣyas of Śrī Śaṅkara has called his works Bhāṣya-tippaṇī.

Vāsudeva Kavi has named several of his *Yamaka Kavyas* as हरिभक्तिसुधोदयम्; नळोदयम्; युधिष्ठरविजयोदयम्; शिवोदयम्; देवीचरितोदयम्; शौरिकथोदयम्, अच्युतलीलोदयम्; सत्यतपःकथोदयम् etc.[11]
The commentaries of the Advaita teacher Śaṅkarānanda on the Upaniṣads go by the same name of *Dīpikās*. Raṅgarāmānuja interpreting the Upanisads according to the Viśiṣṭādvaita School has named his commentaries as प्रकाशिका. All the commentaries of Sāyana go by the general name of वेदार्थप्रकाश. The natural conclusion is that the author of Rasārnavasudhākara must also have written the commentary on Saṅgītaratnākara, —sudhākara being retained as a common name for both the works.

(b) the titles given in the colophons of both Rasārṇavasudhākara and Saṅgītasudhākara such as अनपोतनरेन्द्रनन्दन, प्रतिगण्डभैरव and अन्ध्रमण्डलाधीश्वर can indicate only the same person in both the works, for such coincidence of accidental resemblances for two different persons having the same name and titles at the same time and ruling over the same country is almost an impossibility.

(c) if, as has been shown, the real author of Rasārṇavasudhākara was Viśveśvara Kavi, there is nothing improbable in attributing this commentary also to either Viśveśvara or to some other equally learned poet of the court of Siṅga. A closer examination of the manuscript might perhaps reveal as much as the Rasārṇavasudhākara has done in letting the author out. Viśveśvara seems to have been the author of several works besides Camatkāracandrikā and Rasārṇavasudhākara for he has quoted several verses as his own composition found elsewhere. He specifically mentions *Kandarpa-sambhava* as a play written by himself.

(d) One of the works quoted as an example of the *Ḍima* type is a play called *Vīrabhadra-vijṛmbhaṇa*.[12] The stanza quoted is a panygeric on

[11] See, V. Venkatarama Sharma—his article on Vāsudeva Kavi in the Sahṛdayā (Malayalam). Also the proceedings of the Tenth All India Oriental Conference, on Yamaka Kavi Vāsudeva, 1941.

[12] See page 272-3, Rasārṇavasudhākara (Tri./edn.)

both Siṅga and the author Viśveśvara.[13] Perhaps this is another composition of Viśveśvara Kavicandra himself quoted by him along with *Kumāra-sambhava*. This also indicates the possibility of several other works of Viśveśvara coming to light in future.

Viśveśvara seems to have had a nephew Paśupati Nāganātha who was the author of a number of works, the most important being the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* in Telugu. He was a disciple of Viśveśvara. Very probably he too enjoyed the patronage of Siṅgabhūpāla and helped his uncle in his literary works. Mr. Prabhakara Shastri thinks that the title of Sarvajña belonged to the grandson of Siṅgabhūpāla (the reputed author of *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*).[14] The grandson was the patron of one Bommakanti Appayācārya[15] (who has written a commentary on the well-known lexicon of Amarasiṁha) and Śrīnātha. Only a full and critical study of the works of Potayārya, *Camatkāracandrikā* and the *Lakṣaṇa Dīpikā* of Gauranārya may perhaps put us in possession of facts to verify the statements here made.

Three places are mentioned by name in the Rasārṇavasudhākara. Rājācala (V. 41) has been identified with Racakoṇḍa. What Eleśvara (Ellose ?) indicates has not been indicated nor can we be clear about what कृष्णैलेश्वर सन्निधौ कृतमहासम्भारमेलेश्वरे means, unless it indicates the name of a God in a temple at Eleśvara (Ellose ?). What incident of great import happened before that temple to be called a mahāsambhāra we are equally ignorant. Whether the whole stanza refers to (1) the foundation of an agrahāra by Siṅga, the grandfather or (2) it implies a *Mahā Abhiṣeka* cere-

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[13] Ibid, p. 273.

सेव्यं किं परमुत्तमस्य चरित लोकोत्तरः कः पुमान्

श्रीशिङ्गः स तु कीदृशो वद निधिधेमस्य धर्मस्तु कः ।

सत्योक्तिर्वचनं तु किं कविनुतं को नाम तादृक् कविः

विश्वेशः स तु कीदृशो विजयते विश्वेषु विश्वेशवत् ॥

[14] *Śṛngāra Śrīnātham*, ch. 6.

[15] This commentary on the work of Amarasiṁha praises the patron too highly. It holds that any work to be worthy of being classed as a good work ought to be examined and passed by Sarvajña Siṅga. It also states that the author Appajācārya was almost an incarnation of Sarasvatī herself. (*Triennial Catalogue*, V ; C. R. no. 4557, pp. 6633-34)

mony, conducted in the presence of the God of the temple, we cannot be quite certain, unless independent corroborative evidence is available. We can only base our inferences on what is available to us.

In the *Camatkāracandrikā* Viśveśvara has mentioned the marriage of Siṅgabhūpāla with a Kaliṅga Princess and victory of Siṅga over the ruler of Kaliṅga (Wilson).[16] I am tempted to suggest that the penultimate verse in the second *Prakaraṇa* of the Rasārṇavasudhākara perhaps makes a reference to this victory over the Gaṅgas (विजेता गाङ्गेयम्).[17] Evidently the words used, denote in a double sense the Gaṅga King and Bhīsma of purāṇic fame, for the context mentions only the name of the Purānic hero Hariścandra and Bṛhaspati, the guru of Indra.

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16 Catalogue of the MacKenzie Collection, p. 155

17 *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, p. 208.

हरिश्चन्द्रो रक्षाकरवचन (रुचिर) सत्येषु वचसां
विलासे वागीशो महति नियमे नीतिनिगमे ।
विजेता गाङ्गेयं जनमरणसंमोहनकला-
त्रनेषु श्रीशिङ्गः क्षितिपतिरुदारो दिजयते ॥

HAMSAMIṬṬHU AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN AESTHETICS[1]

H. G. NARAHARI, M.A., ADYAR LIBRARY, MADRAS

Early Sanskrit Writers on Poetics appear to have accepted only *eight* Rasas, and the *Śānta* comes to the scene only at a later time. Bharata[2] and Daṇḍin,[3] and perhaps Bhāmaha also,[4] mention only *eight* Rasas, and it is not till the time of Udbhaṭa[5] that definite evidence is seen of the recognition of the *Śānta* Rasa by Rhetoricians. The apparent lead given by Udbhaṭa was taken up certainly by Rudraṭa, Namisādhu, Bhaṭṭa Tota, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Abhinavagupta, Ānandavardhana, Kṣemendra and Bhoja.[6] Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Rājaśekhara might also have belonged to the same school, but this fact remains only a matter for inference. Among those belonging to the opposite school, the chief place must per force be given to Dhanañjaya and Dhanika both of whom protest vehemently against its acceptance either in Drama or in Poetry.[7] Mammaṭa[8] first recounts only eight Rasas which are useful in Nāṭya, but adds later Śānta, the ninth, with

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[1] I must record here my indebtedness to Prof. M. Hiriyanna for having gone through this paper, and for having offered me very valuable suggestions.

[2] *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI. 15ff

[3] *Kāvyādarśa*, II 281ff

[4] This has only to be inferred, for he and Daṇḍin seem to be very closely related.

[5] *Udbhaṭa*, however, cannot be regarded as the *first* champion of this Rasa, for though the many references to it claimed to be in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* seem all to be spurious, this work does contain nearly all the material for a theoretical formulation of it (H. Hiriyanna, *Foreword* to the *Number of Rasas* by V. Raghavan, p. vi)

[6] For an exhaustive account of the arguments of these writers, see V. Raghvan, *Number* of *Rasas*, pp. 42ff.

[7] *Daśarūpaka*, IV. 33 and the Avaloka thereon

[8] *Kāvyaprakāśa*, IV. 6, 12

Nirveda as the *Sthāyin*. Śaradātanaya [9] and Siṅgabhūpāla [10] deny Śānta Rasa only in Drama; and a few rhetoricians [11] believe that Śānta cannot altogether be denied, but can be conveniently merged under one or the other of the Rasas already recognized.

Of the numerous arguments advanced to deny Śānta the characteristic of a Rasa, the most important is that the state of Śānta cannot be described in positive terms, and that what is only a negative sentiment cannot be portrayed in a Drama. [12] There is some truth in the first part of this assertion, but the same cannot be said of the latter part. The very same Ānandavardhana who says [13] that the *sthāyin* of Śānta is nothing but the extinction of desire (*tṛṣṇākṣaya*), says [14] also that the prevailing sentiment in the Mahābhārata is the quietistic (Śānta). Some of the works of Aśvaghoṣa, and the last Act of the Śākuntala clearly show that Śānta can be delineated in literary compositions, be they poetry or drama. It is not easy to maintain even that Śānta cannot be an art-emotion, in view of the fact that the test of true art lies in the width of its appeal, and that the quietistic sentiment (*Śānta Rasa*) can appeal but to a few who are of a contemplative disposition and whose minds are thus fashioned for it. That would be to ignore the fact that the need for spiritual peace is fundamental to the human heart. [15] The capacity in man to capture this mood may, however, be less common; but this defect can be set aright by art which has 'the power of itself, to enable (man) to attain, albeit only for a while, the peace of spirit which...even a Yogin has (often) to strain himself long to win.' [16]

The history of the *Māyā* Rasa is no less interesting. The gradual decline of disfavour towards admitting Śānta as the ninth Rasa, and its

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9 *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 46 (Gaekwad Series). In another place. (p. 47) the same writer states that *Vāsuki* accepts the *Śānta* Rasa.

10 *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, II. 166ff

11 V. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, pp. 48ff

12 *Avaloka* on *Daśarūpaka*, IV. 33

13 Dhvanyāloka, III. 390 (Benares Edn.)

14 *Ibid.*, IV. 530

15 *M. Hiriyanna, op. cit.*, p.viii

16 *Ibid.*

more or less universal acceptance at the hands of leading rhetoricians, gave courage to many other theorists to come forward with claims for fresh admissions to the now loosened Rasa-fold. Among such new entrants, *Māyā* is the one which is in closest association with Śānta. *Bhānudatta*[17] is perhaps the most enthusiastic advocate of this Rasa. According to him, even as Śānta is the Rasa of the inactive (*nivṛtti*) aspect of the mind, so is Māyā the Rasa of its active (*pravṛtti*) aspect. If the Śānta Rasa can be delineated with concepts like *Jñāna, Bhakti, Śama, Dama* and *Santuṣṭi*, Māyā can be so depicted with the aid of such concepts as *Kāma, Krodha*, and *Lobha*, and the Soul can be shown to be rolling in the cycle of birth and death (*saṁsāra*) on account of ignorance (*mithyājñāna, avidyā*). Bhānudatta's position is accepted and followed by the *Mandāramaranda-campu*,[18] though at the hands of *Ciranjīvibhaṭṭa*[19] it meets with very sharp opposition.

Hamsamiṭṭhu is another but hitherto unrecognized champion of both these Rasas, the *Śānta* and the *Māyā*. He is a native of Gujarat, and lived at the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century.[20] He is the author of a work called the *Haṁsavilāsa*[21] which, though mainly a Tantric work, contains besides information regarding various other branches of knowledge. It has more the look of an encyclopaedia than of a treatise on any single subject. The work is in prose as well as in verse, and is in the form of a dialogue between the author and his wife. The verses are generally citations from earlier works, while a few of them which are composed by the author himself, are clearly indicated by directions such as '*asmatkṛtam idam padyam*',[22] '*ity asmatkṛtam*',[23] '*asmatkṛtam ity api.*'[24] The prose portions are clearly the work of the author himself.

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17 *Rasataraṅgiṇī*, chap. VII   18 P. 106 (Kāvyamālā Edn.)

19 *Kāvyavilāsa* (Sarasvatī Bhavan Studies, XVI), p. 10

20 His exact date of birth is the full-moon day of the bright half of phālguna in Vikrama Saṁvat 1794 (= A. D. 1727) [गुर्जरजनपदे संवत् १७९४ वर्षे फाल्गुनशुक्लपौर्णमास्यां मध्याह्नसमये नरशरीरं लब्धवान्—Haṁsavilāsa, p. 3]

21 This is printed as no. LXXXI of the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda.

22 *Haṁsavilāsa*, p. 158   23 Ibid., p. 159

24 Ibid.

Sanskrit works are only very rarely known to satisfy the curiosity of the reader for biographical data regarding their authors. The Hamsavilāsa leaves no room for any regret on this score. Ample information is given about the author at the very beginning[25] of the work. Haṁsamiṭṭhu seems to be a brahmin and a sāmavedin. His father was *Kṛpārāma*, and *Sūrī* is the name of his mother. He seems to have been initiated at the very early age of five, and is said to have become a scholar very soon. At the age of twelve he married Haṁsī, daughter of Jīva and Rāmakumārī, and his conjugal life is said to have lasted till he was sixteen. Then, having grown weary with married life, he went to Benares and studied the *Āgamas* and the *Upaniṣads*. Not satisfied with what he learnt there, he travelled further to the Vindhya Mountain where he met a *Paramahamsa* to whom he owed the revelation that he is no other than *Hamsa*, the servant of *Ardhanārīśvara*, reincarnated on earth. Happy at this discovery about himself, he returned home determined to live a life of continence even as a house-holder. To his joy he found that his wife was no obstacle in his way, and was quite willing to allow him to live as he liked. Haṁsamiṭṭhu is thereafter reported to have initiated his wife in the knowledge he derived from the Paramahamsa; and what he taught then is said to be the content of the Hamsavilāsa.

How far this story is genuine is not what should interest us now. All that we are concerned at present is with the section on *Rasas* which the *Haṁsavilāsa* contains. Haṁsamiṭṭhu attempts here to establish his view that the Rasas are *ten* in number, and that a distinctive place ought to be given among them to *Śānta* and *Māyā*. Rasa, to him, need not necessarily mean 'unalloyed bliss'. It can as well mean only the state of mental poise (*manoviśrāma*), or the mere awakening of the reminiscent impression of the permanent feeling (*prabuddhā sthāyibhāvavāsanā*). He thus defines[26] *Rasa* in a three-fold way:

Vibhāvānubhāvasāttvikavyabhicārair upacīyamānas sthāyibhāvaḥ paripūrṇo rasyamāno rasaḥ. Athavā

Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicāribhāvair manoviśrāmaḥ kriyate sa rasaḥ. Athavā, Prabuddhā sthāyibhāvavāsanā rasaḥ.

[25] Ibid., p. 3

[26] *Haṁsavilāsa*, p. 244

Under the first definition come the eight Rasas unanimously accepted by all. The second definition accommodates the *Śānta* Rasa, while the third is so intended for the *Māyā* Rasa.[27] Accordingly, the *Śānta* Rasa is defined[28] as either the development of disgust or the cessation of evil and desire (*nirvedasya paripoṣaḥ doṣatuṣapraśamano*[29] *vā śāntarasaḥ*). Desire (*kāma*), anger (*krodha*), greed (*lobha*) and the like are the different kinds of evil (*doṣāḥ*);[30] the permanent feeling (*sthāyibhāva*) is disgust (*nirveda*); the excitants (*vibhāva*) are discernment of the futility of sensual objects (*viṣayadoṣavicāra*), absence of desire (*virakti*) and the like. The ensuants (*anubhāva*) are tears of joy (*ānandāśru*), horripilation (*pulaka*), joy (*harṣa*), broken words (*gadgada*) and so on. The *Māyā* Rasa is likewise defined[31] as nothing more than the reminiscent impression of false-knowledge awakened (*prabuddhā mithyājñānavāsanā māyārasaḥ*); false-knowledge (*mithyājñāna*) is the permanent feeling (*sthāyibhāva*); Merit (*Dharma*) and Demerit (*Adharma*) which bring worldly experience are the excitants (*Vibhāva*);[32] son (*putra*), wife (*kalatra*), kingdom (*sāmrājya*) and the like are the ensuants (*anubhāva*).[33]

The value of these definitions of Haṁsamiṭṭhu for *Śānta* and *Māyā* can be fully realized only when we consider the objections which are often raised in order to prove the inadmissibility of both of them as Rasas. There are *two* chief conditions which a champion of a new Rasa must satisfy: whether the Rasa he brings forward can answer to the traditional definition found in the Nāṭyaśāstra, and whether it can bring aesthetic pleasure when delineated in Poetry or Drama. The first condition is very often quite easily answered, but the difficulty is generally with the second. It is often asked how Rasas like Karuna deserve their name when, by their very nature, they ought to bring pain rather than pleasure on exhibi-

27 There is nothing in the *Haṁsavilāsa* itself to suggest that the author meant that the second and third definitions are meant only for *Śānta* and *Māyā* respectively. The interpretation given here is entirely mine.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 253

29 The text wrongly reads *Dveṣatuṣa*.....

30 दोषाः कामक्रोधलोभादयः (*Ibid.*)

31 *Haṁsavilāsa*, loc. cit.

32 सांसारिकभोगार्जकधर्माधर्मो विभावाः (*Ibid.*)

33 *Ibid.*

tion. Several efforts are made to answer this really serious objection. A few rhetoricians maintain that, for a Rasa to be relished, there is no necessity that it should only be pleasurable in nature. Rasas are of two kinds, those that are pleasurable in nature and those that are painful (*rasā hi sukhaduḥkhāvasthārūpāḥ*);[34] but both of them are relished. The *Rasakalikā* of Rudrabhaṭṭa and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra hold the same view, and explain that we enjoy scenes portraying painful sentiments (*Rasa*) only because, on such occasions, the contemplation of painful situations is immediately followed by the appreciation of the excellence of the art either of the dramatist or of the skill of the actors:

"करुणामयानामप्युपादेयत्वं सामाजिकानां, रसस्य सुखदुःखात्मकतया तदुभयलक्षणत्वेनोपपद्यते । अत एव तदुभयजनकत्वम् । एवंविधस्याप्युपादेयत्वमन्वयव्यतिरेकगम्यत्वमिति । रसा नायकाश्रिता एव सामाजिकैर्नटचेष्टया काव्यश्रवणेन च साक्षाद्भाव्यन्ते । समनुभाव्यमानास्तं तमनुभवं जनयन्ति । परगत-रससम्यग्भावनया अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां निरतिशयानन्दजनकत्वमिति तत्र प्रवृत्तिरपि घटत इति सर्वं रमणीय-मिति" ॥[35]

"यत्पुनः सर्वरसानां सुखात्मकत्वमुच्यते, तत्प्रतीतबाधितम् । आस्तां नाम मुख्यविभावोपचितः काव्याभिनयोपनीतविभावोपचितोऽपि भयानको बीभत्सः करुणो रौद्रो वा रसास्वादवतामनाख्येयां कामपि क्लेशदशामुपनयति । अत एव भयानकादिभिरुद्विजते समाजः । न नाम सुखास्वादादुद्वेगो घटते । यत्पुनरेभिरपि चमत्कारो दृश्यते स रसास्वादविरामे सति यथावस्थितवस्तुप्रदर्शकेन कविनटशक्तिकौशलेन। विस्मयन्ते हि शिरश्छेदकारिणाऽपि प्रहारकुशलेन वैरिणा शौण्डीरमानिनः । अनेनैव च सर्वाङ्गाह्लादकेन कवि-नटशक्तिजन्मना चमत्कारेण विप्रलब्धाः परमानन्दरूपतां दुःखात्मकेष्वपि करुणादिषु सुमेधसः प्रति-जानते" ॥[36]

Theorists like *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* believe[37] that it is wrong to think that all Rasas bring an equal amount of aesthetic pleasure. A careful analysis would show that there is a difference in degree between the pleasures derived from any two Rasas:

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[34] *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja (Madras Ms.), II. 369, cited by V. Raghavan, *op. cit*, p. 155

[35] *Rasakalikā* (Madras, R. 2241), pp. 51ff, cited by V. Raghavan, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (New Indian Antiquary, December 1942), p. 496 n

[36] *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, p. 159 (Gaekwad Oriental Series)

[37] *Bhagavadbhaktirasāyana*, p. 22

" द्रवीभावस्य सत्त्वधर्मत्वात्, तं विना च स्थायिभावासंभवात्, सत्त्वगुणस्य च सुखरूपत्वात्, सर्वेषां भावानां सुखमयत्वेऽपि रजस्तमोंशमिश्रणात्तारतम्यमवगन्तव्यम्। अतो न सर्वेषु रसेषु तुल्य-सुखानुभवः " ॥

By far the majority, however, hold that like any other Rasa, even Karuṇa and others of its class are pleasurable in nature and bring aesthetic enjoyment when portrayed on the stage. When a scene portraying these Rasas is exhibited, the spectator does not experience pain. His mind is at that time so thoroughly absorbed in the circumstance before him, that it attains a sort of equilibrium, devoid of all restlessness; and this kind of experience is also bliss (*ekaghanaśokasaṁvic carvaṇe'pi loke asti lokasya hṛdayaviśrāntir antarāyaśūnyaviśrāntiśarīratvāt* (*sukhasya*) *aviśrāntirūpataiva ca duḥkham*;[38] and pain (*duḥkha*), in its true analysis, is nothing more than mental oscillation owing to disturbance of this equilibrium.

Western writers on Aesthetics also mostly accept that the aesthetic pleasure we derive from a scene shown before us owes its existence only to the fact that, at its sight, the human mind cannot resist its natural tendency to attune itself to it. Schelling thus said[39] that "Art is the uniting of the subjective with the objective, of nature with reason, of the unconscious with the conscious." This idea is more clearly expressed by a later writer. "Whence comes the pleasure", asks[40] Veron, "which the contemplation of grace affords us? The answer is: from the more or less unconscious but very real sentiment of human sympathy, which makes us involuntary partakers in the joys or sufferings that come before our eyes."

All these rhetoricians agree that even painful scenes are relished, and the explanation for this is that mental absorption in the circumstance before the eye of the spectator prevents him from showing sympathetic pain. Could it also be that, since tragedies are not uncommon in life, the mind of the spectator finds itself under no special compulsion to be shocked at the sight of a painful scene, seeing that it is after all a representation of life as it is, if not of life as it should be?

[38] *Abhinavabhāratī* (Gaekwad Oriental Series), p. 283

[39] Cited by Leo Tolstoy, *What is Art?* p. 27

[40] Eugene Veron, *Aesthetics* (Trans. W. H. Armstrong), p. 118

Hamsamiṭṭhu makes no efforts to give any solution to this problem to which Aestheticians, in the East as well as in the West, cannot as yet be considered to have given quite a satisfactory answer. His view that some Rasas bring aesthetic enjoyment, some only mental poise, while a few can be described by no clearer terms than that they are the mere awakening of the corresponding incipient states, turns no new ground. It is, however, in the skill with which he almost avoids this problem, and in the way he manages to accommodate *Śānta* and *Māyā*,[41] lies his contribution to the study of Indian Aesthetics.

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[41] Even so far as this Rasa is concerned, *Haṁsamiṭṭhu* only reiterates the view sponsored by *Bhānudatta* in his *Rasataraṅgiṇī*, (See, *Supra*, pp. 2ff.) so that actually we seem to owe him *nothing more* than the *triple* definition of Rasa.

THE SECRET OF SUPREME HARMONY

UMASHANKAR JOSHI, M.A., Ahmedabad

India, like all other nations, has passed through periods of trials and tribulations, but her soul has a knack of surviving even centuries-long depressions. " By what means ? "—one would ask. The one answer to it is that the people of India have at no moment in her long history acquiesced in prizing anything more than the spirit. The *Ātman* is in the centre. Everything else has to minister to the needs of the spirit.

The spirit is one and indivisible. But as it fulfils itself through the functions of the heart, the head and the will *i. e.* through feeling, thought and action, it is possible to talk of three ways of self-realisation,—those of devotion knowledge and action. One could suggest broadly that one or the other of these three ways has been emphasised by three great Indian epics. The *Rāmāyaṇa* indicates the path of unflinching idealistic action, the *Bhāgavata* is a fount of gushing devotion and the ambitious *Mahābhārata* provides thought-material on almost all problems that matter. These epic themes have been sung by each new generation of poets of various tongues in every nook and coner of India through the past two thousand years, thus never allowing the masses to stray far from the spiritual course. The Gītā not being a story but only presenting the solution of a problem that appeared at a moment of supreme crisis in the life of the principal hero of the *Mahābhārata*, has never been so popular with the masses as the three epics. But giving as it does in a nut-shell a far more comprehensive view of life by harmonising action, devotion and knowledge, the Gītā has served as the one beacon-light through ages. Meant for the average inquiring soul (Arjuna is looked upon as only middling in point of spiritual stature), abounding in succinct phrases which go on ringing in one's ears, and aiming at a synthetic outlook, the Gītā is perhaps the one book, which more than any other sacred book seems to be responsible for the shaping of the spiritual life of India in the past.

Medieval and ancient India have no doubt derived great sustenance from the Gītā. The great preachers of the various schools of philosophy took to the Gītā for propounding their thesis. The Gītā,—an epitome of

Indian philosophy—, has embraced the basic problem of human life so successfully that it has turned out to be the premier religious hand-book of modern India as well. One wonders at the vitality of this little book. It has something to offer to each epoch, and every new idealogy can hope to find a good measure of support and strength in it.

Thus of all the ancient voices, that of the Gītā is the one which has never failed India at moments of spiritual crisis. Nor has it ever faltered.

No wonder that modern India should have harked back to the voice of the Gītā. India had imported from the West along with other commodities minds as well, and she took no time in being caught into the whirlwind of the frenzied activity of the West. The Gītā came handy to Tilak, who in the beginning of this century gave out that the message of the Gītā was that of action and that India had suffered much from the escapist interpretation that insisted on contemplative rather than active life. Tilak's interpretation exposes him, to the charge that his was a sort of a tacit surrender to the fret and fever of Western activity. But Tilak rendered a very definite and a great service. Perhaps it was no use at that hour to ask India not to be dazed by the mad run of the European activity. What Tilak did was to root action into spirituality. This, then, is the peculiarly Indian mischief: everything has to accommodate itself to a spiritual context, before it can hope to claim acceptance—or even cognisance by the dumb and apparently untutored masses of India. According to Tilak, it was not merely action that the Gītā taught, it was rather the *Yoga* of action, it was action which had reference to Divinity. The Gītā stood for no aimless and barren activity, but for soulful activity, Then came Mahatma Gandhi, who could put forth in all propriety the 'claim of an endeavour to enforce the meaning' of the Gītā in his 'own conduct' for an unbroken period of over half a century. He read in the Gītā the message of non-attached action. This point can never be too much emphasised. Non-attachment takes away the very sting from action. It may be given unto others to give further emphasis and touches to Tilak's interpretation. Already Sri Aurobindo has pointed out the possibility of treating all action as the expression not of the ego-self but of the Divine Consciousness, thus investing it with perfect soulfulness.

It would be hardly advisible to risk an analysis of the central meaning of the Gītā in this short essay. Again, it is never to be forgotten that the Gītā is not a dialectical dissertation, nor a manual of maxims, but a

poem. The meaning of a poem has to be sought in no single detail or part of it, but in the whole of it. If one does not lose sight of the fact that the Gītā is a poem, one is sure to relish the repetitions with which it is replete. The repetitions render a definite service by conditioning and clarifying the previous statements and thereby balancing and perfecting the whole meaning of the poem.

The poet has selected a moment of intense dramatic significance. Arjuna stands face to face with his kith and kin on the battlefield. And yet fight he must. But if he fights, he kills his own kins-folk. He cannot kill without killing a part of his own self. This means that one cannot act without being adversely acted upon, that one cannot live without losing a little of life itself. The poet of the Gītā is very happy in his choice of the dramatic moment. His one aim is to grapple with *the* problem of life. To act or not to act—that is the question and the Gītā is an answer to it. It would have been hardly possible to imagine a better situation in order to throw this problem in bold relief. The fighting is symbolical of all action; it is the battle of life. No wonder that at the end of the third discourse we find Arjuna urged to kill Desire and at the end of the fourth it is Doubt that he is asked to destroy. It is only such killing as would not result in self-killing.

Act one must. Kṛṣṇa says that nobody could remain without acting, that one is compelled to act. Besides, without action one could not hope to maintain even the normal course of life. Beyond this, also there would be acts which one would be called upon to perform as a matter of duty, acts without performing which life would become a burden.

But all action has a tendency to result in bondage. Usually one finds that action reacts adversely in oneself especially when one is disappointed about the fruit thereof. Hence the injunction not to aim at the fruit of action. This is the non-attached act, which is the equivalent, according to the Gītā, of non-act (XVIII, 49).

Thus, it is that one may hope to act and yet not be bound by it. In other words, the Gītā has solved the problem 'to act or not to act' by showing how to act in a manner which would earn for one all the advantages of non-action.

But this could be realised only if one takes to actions not of one's own sweet will, but of His will and allows Him to function through all one's actions. This means, devotion is implicit in such action. Again,

how could one distinguish the egoistic urge from the Divine? Only according to one's inner light, which is another name for knowledge. Thus selfless action, which would not mean bondage for one, implies both devotion and knowledge. The Gītā synthesises the three and stands for spiritual (*i. e* unbinding) action, which is inspired by a living faith in God and is rooted in knowledge. It purports to be the synthesis of the words of Carlyle "Work is Worship" and those of Socrates "Virtue is Knowledge," *i e.* all true action *is* devotion and as it does not bind one, it ends in self-realisation. As suggested at the very outset, these distinctions are arbitrary and if anyone of them is honestly pursued, the other two are sure to be attended to along with it.

This is how the Gītā shows the way of rendering all act as unbinding as non-act, and at the same time to fill it with soulfulness which turns it into an opportunity for self-realisation. This is the supreme harmonisation preached by the Gītā.

It is possible to view this harmony from another stand-point also. Apart from indicating the way of unbinding action Kṛṣṇa has never tired of telling Arjuna that compelled to act (III, 5), that God dwelling in the heart of all beings whirls them all set on a machine (XVIII, 61), that the warriors are already killed by Him, he is only to be a mere instrument (XI,33) and so on. But in the end He says, 'Do as you like to' (XVIII, 63), 'you have seen, through the whole thing, now decide your course for yourself'. This means that the human soul, according to the Gītā, is free to choose its own course. But in the meantime Kṛṣna has revealed the Cosmic Vision to Arjuna (ch. XI), who now is thought fit to be initiated into the career of a 'God-drunk' devotee (ch. XII). May it be that after visualising the whole scheme of things and his own proper place in it, his mind is mellowed and he is now able to act as a willing agent of the Divine with complete self-surrender? What is of utmost import is the fact that though Arjuna is shown the fixed fate, he is in the end asked to exert his free-will, to do as he desired. Quick comes the response: 'I will abide by Your word.' (XVIII, 73). It is not the question of a fixed fate *versus* free-will, as we often meet with in the European tragic drama, but the Gītā harmonises the fixed fate with free-will, and shows the way of turning the free self-chosen act of the human spirit into the expression of the Universal Cosmic Self.

Thus, this little book holds out the secret of supreme harmony.

THE PRECESSION OF THE EQUINOXES AND ITS DISCOVERY IN INDIA

PROF. K. V. ABHYANKAR, M.A., Ahmedabad

It is believed that the Ancient Indian Astronomers before the 6th or the 7th century A. D., did not possess any knowledge of the phenomenon of the Precession of the Equinoxes every sidereal year due to the retrograde motion of the equinoctial points along the ecliptic, causing the earlier and earlier occurrence of the seasons in the sidereal year. Scholars generally believe that the Precession was unknown even to Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta, and, in India it was Munjāla, who mentioned it for the first time in clear terms stating the degrees of Precession, at his time, calculated backwards from the first point of Aries. Although no clear references to the Precession are found in ancient Sanskrit books on Astronomy, there is sufficient ground to believe that the old Indian astronomers at the time of the Christian era, or some time before it, had sufficient date in the Ancient Sacred Literature with which they could make its discovery.

2. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes the position of the 14 Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Viśākhā, to the North of the Celestial Equator, and calls them 'mansions of Gods' as they form a curve in the Zodiac similar to that made by the hands of the clock, while the Sun, the Moon and the planets wind their way through them. The position of the Nakṣatras from Anurādhā to Bharaṇī is described there in an opposite order in a curve bulging to the South while the Sun, the Moon and the planets move through them unlike the hands of the clock. The passage states further that the Kṛttikās rise exactly at the East point on the horizon. The latitude of Kṛttikā is 4° North. Hence, in order that Kṛttikās should be at the exact East, it is necessary that the Ecliptic should cut the Equator about 9 degrees to the East of Kṛttikās *i. e.* at about 63° longitude or the first point of Rohiṇī. The Vernal Equinox was in fact, at the time, at the beginning of Rohiṇī, the Summer Solstice at

Maghā $\frac{3}{4}$, the Winter Solstice at Śatatārakā $\frac{1}{4}$, and the Autumnal Equinox at Anurādhā $\frac{1}{2}$.

3. There is a passage in the Maitrī Upaniṣad which counts the $13\frac{1}{2}$ Naksatras from Maghā in due order moving towards the right hand (kramena) and styles them as Naksatras of Agni, and the remaining $13\frac{1}{2}$ from Āślesā in reverse order moving towards the left hand (akramena) and styles them as Naksatras of Soma. The passage indicates the exact position of the Summer Solstice at the beginning of Maghā, the Winter Solstice at the middle of Dhaniṣṭhā, the Autumnal Equinox at Viśākhā $\frac{3}{4}$, and the Vernal Equinox at Krttikā $\frac{1}{4}$. The Vedānga Jyotiśa makes a definite statement of the Summer Solstice at Āślesā $\frac{1}{2}$, of the Winter Solstice at the first point of Dhaniṣṭhā, of the Autumnal Equinox at Viśākhā $\frac{1}{4}$, and of the Vernal Equinox at Bharaṇī $\frac{3}{4}$. The Sūryaprajñapti of the Jain Siddhānta states very accurately the Summer Solstice at Puṣya $\frac{1}{4}$, the Winter Solstice at the first point of Abhijit (Uttarāsādhā $\frac{3}{4}$), the Autumnal Equinox at the first point of Svātī and the Vernal Equinox at Aśvinī $\frac{1}{2}$ The well-known tradition that Bhīṣma waited for the Winter Solstice to breathe his last, and the statement in the Mahābhārata that the Winter Solstice occurred 50 days after the end of the War, could also show to the Ancient Astronomers that the time of the Uttarāyana commencement then was well nigh more than a month and a half in advance in the sidereal year as compared to its occurrence at their time.

4. A careful scrutiny of these passages was sufficient to enable scholars of Astronomy at the time of S'aka and Vikrama Eras to conclude that the four cardinal points on the Ecliptic *viz* , the two Equinoxes and the two Solstices, on which the Uttarāyana and the Daksiṇāyana depended were not stationary, but they moved backwards and backwards very very slowly along the Ecliptic They could also observe that a corresponding change was effected in the direction in which the Nakṣatras rose...half the number of Nakṣatras rising more and more to the right hand on the horizon, and half to the left hand, and that the seasons occurred earlier and earlier in the sidereal year, in the course of several centuries. The old astronomers could clearly notice the following facts :—The constellation Maghā, or Regulus, no longer marked the Summer Solstice or the Northern-

most point on the Ecliptic, nor it rose at the Northern limit of the AYANA *i. e.*, 24 degrees North of the due East, but the Summer Solstice had shifted backwards to the West of Maghā Which was seen rising to the South on the horizon. Similarly, the constellation Kṛttikā (Pleides) was no longer seen rising at due East but some degrees to the North. They also observed that the Vernal Equinox had receded backwards from Rohiṇī at the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, to Kṛttikā ¼ at the time of the Maitrī Upaniṣad, to Bharaṇī ¾ at the time of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, to Aśvinī ½ at the time of the Sūryaprajñapti and to the First Point of Aśvinī at their time. The seasons also, they saw, occurred earlier and earlier and the Rainy Season at their time set in, when the Sun was in Punarvasu and not in Maghā as at the time of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Ancient Astronomers, in short, came to the conclusion that the two Equinoxes and the two Solstices had changed their position, having receded 3 Nakṣatras or 40 degrees. They were naturally prompted to calculate the time taken by this vertical change in the points of the Equinoxes and Solstices as also by the horizontal change in the point where the Nakṣatras rose. Their efforts led them to the discovery of Ayana in the case of Nakṣatras much similar to the Ayana of the Sun, the Moon and the planets. This Astral Ayana, discovered by them, was practically the same as the phenomenon known to-day by the term ' The Precession of the Equinoxes '.

5. The effects of this Astral Ayana were noticed by the ancient Indian Astronomers in two ways—(1) vertically with respect to the 4 points in constellations, which determined the shortest day, the longest day and the two equal days by the Sun's presence in them, and (2) horizontally with respect to the direction in which the constellations rose and set. The Old Astronomers were more concerned with the horizontal effect on account of its resemblance with the Ayana of the Sun which was noticed hundreds of years ago, and hence the writer of the Sūryasiddhānta has specifically called it Ayana in ch.3, st.10. In course, of time the vertical effect also came to be called by the same term ' Ayana ' (vide Bṛhatsaṁhitā III, 1 and 2 and Pañcasiddhāntikā) which they calculated by angular distances in terms of Nakṣatras. Later astronomers gave the name ' sampāta-bindu-calana ' or ' sampāta-calana ' to this vertical Astral

Ayana, and calculated it in degrees from some fixed constellation which was marked by the presence of the Vernal Equinox in it.

6 Although the position of the constellations with respect to the Ecliptic remained unchanged, their position with respect to the Celestial Equator changed on account of the Astral Precession, and, hence, half the number of constellations—say from Maghā to Dhaniṣṭhā ½—appeared to be proceeding to South-east along the Ecliptic and to the South along the horizon since Vedic times, and the other half to North-east along the Ecliptic and to the North along the horizon. The constellations Kṛttikā and Anurādhā, which rose at the due east point at the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, were seen rising a few degrees to the North and to the South respectively in their days by the Astronomers at the time of the Christian Era. They calculated the movement along the Ecliptic from one Solstice to another and that along the horizon from the Southern point (24 degrees South of due East) to the Northern point (24 degrees North of due East) and *vice versa* the movement along the Ecliptic measuring 180 degrees in one course or Ayanas and the movement along the horizon measuring 48 degrees in one swing. The idea of the swinging motion was possibly suggested to them by the passage in the Maitrī Upaniṣad which describes two divisions of Naksatras, one belonging to Agni and the other belonging to Soma, the former moving in regular order (krameṇa) *i. e.*, from our left hand to our right hand, and the latter in the reverse order (utkrameṇa) *i. e.* from our right hand to our left hand.

7. After ascertaining that the Equinoxes and the Solstices receded backwards to the West along the Ecliptic and the constellations moved to the North or to the South along the horizon, the next step, which the Ancient Indian Astronomers were required to take, was to calculate the amount of time required for these movements, *viz.*, the slanting motion towards the South-east or North-east along the Ecliptic of 180 degrees, and the swinging motion towards the South or North along the horizon of 48 degrees. The slanting motion was named ' prāk–parilambana ' (pending to the East or advancing ahead) as each constellation, in its six-monthly race with the Sun from Solstice to Solstice, remained a little ahead to the East making the Sun lag behind to the West, the total distance of the Sun's

lagging behind, amounting to 40 degrees since the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa time to their time. It was, indeed, a difficult thing to ascertain exactly how much time each Nakṣatra took to go from one end to another on the swing, or from North-west to South-east or South-west to North-east on the Ecliptic. There were no regular observations made by the Astronomers of various ages, nor records kept by historians. There was only the literary evidence furnished by the occasional statements made by ancient writers such as those referred to above ; but, unless the time when the books were written, was known definitely, no calculations could be made.

8. The ancient Indian Astronomers solved this difficulty in their usual way by accepting the beginning of the Kali Age or the commencement of the Yudhiṣṭhira Era as the date of the Revelation of the Scriptural books given by tradition. Thus, they took about 3100 B. C. at the time of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa and calculated the period from the beginning of the Yudhiṣṭhira Era to their own time at the beginning of the S'ālivāhana Era, as approximately coming to a round number of 3200 years. They found out that during this period of 3200 years the Vernal Equinox had fallen back 3 Nakṣatras or 40 degrees from the first point of Rohiṇī to the first point of Aśvinī, and on the strength of this finding, they concluded that the Precession for a course of 180 degrees or in other words for one Ayana took approximately 14400 years. They also found out the ratio which the swinging motion bore to the vertical slanting motion which they gave as follows :—The horizontal distance is equal to 3/10ths of the Ecliptic arc of 90°, or part of it measuring the Precession. Thus, at their time, the Equinox had fallen back by 40 degrees on the Ecliptic from the first point of Rohiṇī (63 R. A.) where there was the Vernal Equinox at the time of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ; the chord of the arc of 40° is nearly 36, and 3/10ths of 36 comes 10° 48 '. The Precession in short, at their time was 40° from the first point of Rohiṇī, while the Ayana was 10 48 ' to the North, Rohiṇī being observed at its rise 10° 48' to the North of the point where it rose 3200 years ago. The constellation Kṛttikā, similarly moved 10° 48 ' to the north and it was seen at its rise 10° 48 ' to the North of the due East point. The constellation Maghā moved not to the North,

but to the South 19 48' of the point where it rose formerly *i. e.*, at 13 North (24-11).

9 This calculation is clearly found given, although very concisely, in Sūryasiddhānta (ch. 3, st. 9 and 10). The stanzas mean as follows:

(a) "Thirty times in a 'yuga' (432000 years) the Circle of stars pends to the East (by remaining ahead in its race with the Sun who lags behind); (b) multiply by this number *viz.*, 30 the number of earth-days from which the number of Astral days are deducted and find out the result; (c) this result forms the arc along the Ecliptic Circle; find out the chord of this arc and multiply it by three and divide it by ten and the Ayana degrees on the horizon are obtained; (d) after obtaining the Ayana degrees (in this way) the Ecliptic distance, the shadow and the exact position of the planets can be ascertained." These stanzas apply to the Ayana of the Sun as well as to the Ayana of the stars.

10. If we want to find out the Solar Ayana of a day, say October 22, the difference between the Solar and the Lunar days ($31\frac{1}{2}$-$30\frac{1}{2}$ per month) from the Summer Solstice is 3 days, which, multiplied by 30, gives the vertical Ayana, 90 degrees, from the Summer Solstice. The horizontal Ayana, which is 3/10 of the chord of the arc on the Ecliptic, is $90 \times {}^{8}/_{9} \times {}^{3}/_{10}$ *i.e.*, 24 degrees. The Sun, hence will be 24° to the South of the Summer Solstice on the horizon *i.e.*, at the exact east at the time of rising. By the same calculation the vertical Ayana on October 22 will be 120° and the horizontal Ayana will be 24° for 90,° plus 8° for 30°; *i. e.*, the Sun will rise 8 degrees to the south of the East point. The Astral Ayana is a little bit difficult to find out according to these stanzas; roughly, for a period of 5000 years *i.e.*, from the beginning of Kali age to to-day, the calculation will be—$\frac{30 \times 5000 \times (366\frac{1}{4}-365\frac{1}{4})}{432000} = \frac{25}{72}$ of one Ayana, *i.e.*, $\frac{25}{72} \times \frac{180}{1} = 62\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. In other words, if the Vernal Equinox was in Rohiṇī, then, it has to-day receded $62\frac{1}{2}$ degrees to the West of Rohiṇī or $22\frac{1}{2}$ degrees to the West of Aśvinī. Thus, according to this calculation of Sūryasiddhānta, the Ayana is $22\frac{1}{2}$ degrees to the West of the first point of Aries and hence the Ayanāṁśas to-day are 22 30'. The Rohiṇī constellation to-day has moved on the horizon ${}^{4}/_{15}$ of the chord of $62\frac{1}{2}$ *i. e.*, 16° 40' to the North of the

point where it rose then. As Kṛttikā stars rose exactly to the East then, they are now rising 16 40' to the North of the East point according to the Sūryasiddhānta.

11. The verses III 9-10 of the Sūryasiddhānta, as observed above, refer to the Ayanas of all—the Sun, the planets, and even the constellations with this difference that the Astral Ayana, takes place backwards to the West, while the Ayana of the Sun and the planets takes place ahead *i. e.*, to the East, along the Ecliptic circle. As a matter of fact, the contellations do not move backwards among other luminaries, but it is the Sun, who, in his presence at the equinoctial and solsticial points, falls backwards in the constellations. Later Astronomers, Varāhamihira and others made a closer study of this Astral Ayana which is clearly referred to in stanzas like "aślesārdhād āsīd etc..." (B. S.) or "aślesārdhād dakṣinam etc...." (B. S) or "anulomagatir...nausthaḥ paśyati etc...". They commented upon the stanzas of the Sūryasiddhānta and found out the rate of the backward motion along the Ecliptic per year. Some of them calculated the motion to be 45″ per year, some gave 54″, while others gave 60″.

12. Almost all commentators say that the reading is "trimśat kṛtyah" and not "trimśatkṛtvaḥ" and interpret 'kṛti' as 'ākṛti' meaning twenty; they take the word 'yuga' for 'mahāyuga' meaning 432,c000 years. Some of the commentators translate the first line as follows :— "the circle of the constellations or lunar mansions (as they are popularly called) complete 600 revolutions of 108° (27×4) degrees per 432,0000 years, *i. e.*, one revolution of 108° per 7200 years; the Precession, thus, comes to $108 \times 60 \times 60$ seconds in 7200 years, *i. e.*, 54 seconds per year. Others translate differently—" the circle of the lunar mansions completes 600 revolutions of 90 degrees in 432,0000 years, *i. e.*, each revolution of 90 degrees takes 7200 years, *i. e.*, in each year the Precession comes to 45 seconds. The correct reading appears to be 'trimśatkṛtvaḥ' and not '...kṛtyaḥ'; the reading 'kṛtvaḥ' is taken by Bhāskarāchārya and it appears also to be a more natural reading than the other one. If the stanza be interpreted literally, without twisting the meaning of a single word and be taken to refer to the Ayana of 180 degrees as the context

would bear out, the first line of the stanza means—" In a yuga of 432,0000 years, the circle of lunar mansions hangs ahead, *i. e*, to the East, 30 times ". The context shows that it remains hanging ahead in an arc of 180 degrees. Each arc, in fact, takes 14400 years, *i e*, each degree takes 80 years or, in other words, in each year, the movement of Precession is $^1/_{80}$, degree *i. e.*, 45 seconds This result, no doubt, is the same as given by the second set of interpreters, but it is arrived at, more naturally and smoothly.

13. European critics, like Whitney, interpret the line exactly as the commentators have explained it; they, however, observe that the verse cannot refer to the phenomenon of the Precession of the Equinoxes, as the Precession was unknown to the Astronomers of India upto the 5th century A. D. The phenomenon of Precession, these critics say, was first discovered in Greece in the second century B. C by Hipparchus who gave 36″ per year as the amount of Precession and not 50 51 seconds as determined with mathematical accuracy to-day. The Indian theory of Astral Ayana, discovered at the time of the Sūryasiddhānta, some centuries before the Christian Era, with its vertical and horizontal aspects is really different from the Precession theory of Hipparchus although ultimately they refer to the same thing. The theory of Astral Ayana is thoroughly Indian as it is based on the phenomenon of Ayana of the Sun, the Moon and the planets which was known several centuries before Hipparchus. Moreover, had the Indian Astronomers really taken their theory of this Ayana from Hipparchus they had no reason to change the amount of Precession given as 36 seconds per year by Hipparchus and give it differently like 45″ or 54″ or even 60″ per year.

14. Recently an attempt has been made by an Indian scholar of Mathematics to prove that the Precession was known to the Indian Astronomers even in the days of Taittirīya Āraṇyaka as proved by the lines " divi asya ekā dhanurārtniḥ pṛthivyām aparā śritā, tasyendro vamrirūpeṇa dhanurjyām acchinat svayam;....rudrasya tveva dhanurārtniḥ śira utpipeṣa; sa pravargyobhavat etc. " (Taittirīya Āraṇyaka I, 5) The interpretation of this passage, as given by him, as referring to the Precession, appears to be unnatural and far-fetched. The writer of the Āraṇyaka is, in fact, describing the seasons there, as the context shows and the

verse 'asya ekā etc.' refers to the rainbow which is described to be placed with one end in the Heavens, and the other on the earth, with the bow-string eaten by Indra in the form of white ants'. The next stanza and the following passage say that this bow belonged to Rudra and after its string was eaten by Indra, it remained stringless and came to be styled as Indra's Rainbow in the coloured clouds. The end of the bow, when the string was cut by Indra, cut away the head of Rudra himself which became 'Pravargya' and hence it is that the sacrificer who performs the sacrifice with pravargya, rejoins the head; Rudra does not trouble him also who studies this chapter'. The scholar further observes that the period of Precession is also given there in the next anuvāka which amounts to 28800 years, but the Sanskrit text does not, indirectly even, mention this number.

15. The vertical Precession of 90 degrees may well nigh be described as a bow, and for the purpose of calculating the ratio of the vertical Precession to its horizontal effect, the arc of 90° and not the Ayana of 180° was, in fact, taken into account. As observed by me elsewhere, the 'dhanūrāśi' was originally the name given to an arc of 90° made by the constellations Viśākhā to Dhaniṣṭhā (R. A. 217 to 307); the names given to the other 3 arcs of 90° each were 'Mīna', 'Mithuna' and 'Kanyā'. The quarter part of the Zodiac, and not the twelfth part, was possibly termed 'rāśi' originally as it was made up by the amount (rāśi) of 27 quarters of Nakṣatras, each Nakṣatra being divided into 4 quarters. The Dhanūrāśi in those days prescribed the Sun's course from the Autumnal Equinox to the Winter Solstice, the Mīnarāśi from the Winter Solstice to the Spring Equinox, the Mithunarāśi from the Spring Equinox to the Summer Solstice and Kanyārāśi from the Summer Solstice to the Autumnal Equinox. The quarter part of the Ecliptic was considered as a bow in those days and its chord or string was taken into account in calculating the horizontal effect of the Precession; in accordance with the degrees of the Precession, *e. g.*, 40, the chord also had to be cut measuring about 35·5 so that its 3/10 could be taken as horizontal Ayana. The Āraṇyaka portion describes the portion cut as 'pravargya'. With all these things in the mind, the concept of 'pravargya', as being the Precession, is, no

doubt, a very exalted image, but, it is extremely doubtful whether the writers of the Âraṇyaka could have it in their mind when they wrote their text.

16. It can, of course, be concluded quite reasonably (1) that there were passages in the ancient Sanskrit Literature accidentally referring to the position of the constellations and the direction of their rise; (2) that these passages were striking enough to draw the attention of the Indian Astronomers at the time of the Vikrama and the S'aka Eras and enable them to discover that the constellations or Naksatras also had the two Ayanas just as the Sun, the Moon and the planets had ; (3) that this Indian theory of Astral Ayana did exactly correspond to the Greek theory of the Precession, both the theories being drawn independently of each other; (4) that the time, taken by the Astral Ayana of 180 degrees along the Ecliptic as also by the horizontal swing from the North to the South or *vice versa*, amounted to 14400 years; and, lastly (5) that this phenomenon of the Astral Ayana has been explained, although very briefly in verses 9 and 10 in the third chapter of the Sūryasiddhānta.

GUJARATI SECULAR PAINTINGS OF KĀKARUTA AND CITRAPRAŚNA

DR. M. R. MAJMUDAR, M.A., LL.B. PH.D, Baroda

(I)

Painting in India seems to have been early differentiated according as it was meant for religious or secular purposes; and a part of Indian art is evidently secular. Secular paintings came into vogue as a diversion and a source of instruction. These paintings portray the actual life of reality and ideals—both trivial and sublime, physical and spiritual, gross and subtle as one complex unity. Though not so accomplished as the school of temple-painting or the court-art of the princes, the secular folk-art is of exceptional value as a unique, comprehensive and popular record of the everyday life of the people.

Dream-interpretation and astrology, forecasts for rain and storm (popularly known as *Bhaḍalī Vākya*), casting of lots and the science of omens (*Śakuna-Śāstra*) are the commonest forms of divination. Necromancy and witch-craft are practised by the wicked and illiterate who cannot or will not seek the aid of religion, reason or science. Ordeals (*divyas*) are a dangerous and doubtful form of divination, while oracles are usually obscure. All these aspects of divination are but too familiar. Through divination fate can perhaps be foreseen, not forestalled. It is not, however, easy to distinguish between certain forms of divination and sheer superstition; and dangers of misinterpreting divination are, also, many.

The eight auspicious objects (*aṣṭa maṅgala*) are regularly associated with the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. Some of these are common to the Buddhist legends also. These are the mirror (*darpaṇa*), the throne of distinction (*bhadrāsana*), the powder-vase (*vardhamānaka*), the full water vessel (*kalaśa*), the pair of fish (*matsyayugma*), the symbol of *Śrīvatsa*, the *Nandyāvarta* symbol and the well-known *Svastika* symbol.

The traditional fourteen lucky dreams of Devānandā and queen Triśalā in the Kalpasūtras have been illustrated both in sculpture and in painting. These are the goddess Śrī, the elephant, the bull, the lion, the garland, the moon, the sun, the banner, the full vase, the lotus lake, the ocean of milk, the celestial palace, the jewel-heap and the fire without smoke. It appears there were also specialists in interpreting dreams (*svapna-pāthakas*) who were consulted by king Siddhārtha before the birth of Mahāvīra. These *aṣṭa maṅgala* and the *cauda svapna* have been handed down through long tradition in the *Citrapraśna* MS. under notice in fine linear sketches.

The practice of divination with the help of such objects consists in obtaining knowledge of secret or future things by means of oracles, omens or astrology, from contact with superhuman or divine sources. Divination is practised in all grades of culture: because it endeavours to discover the clue to occult or future things by prenatural methods. People usually resort to philosophy, reason or science for a solution of their difficulties; but when these fail, they turn to divination. If we are to understand the most primitive thought, we probably ought to conceive of it as regarding the omen not as a mere sign, but in some confused sense as a cause of that which is to happen. By sympathetic magic the flight of the bird or the appearance of the entrails is mysteriously connected as cause with effect, with the event which is desired or dreaded.

The movements of birds were a favourite means of foretelling the future, especially among the Vedic Hindus and the Romans. The Sanskrit word 'Śakuna' and the English word 'Augury' testify to the currency of the meaning as derived from a bird. Birds by their flights or movements unconsciously reveal certain facts to human beings while the former are, of course, blissfully ignorant of it. *Augurs*, in ancient Rome, were members of a religious college whose duty it was to observe and interpret the signs (*auspices*) of approval or disapproval sent by the Gods in reference to any proposed undertaking. The augurs were originally called auspices meaning 'Observer of birds'. Augury has been made into a science by some persons who established divination on a rational basis by universalising their collected experiences on the subject: *Vasantarāja Śakuna* is the standard Sanskrit work on it.

Signs of the will of the gods were of two kinds, either in answer to a request or incidental. Of such signs there were five classes:[1] (1) *Signs in the sky*, consisting chiefly of thunder and lightning, but not excluding falling stars and other phenomena. (2) Signs from birds, with reference to the direction of their flight, and also to their singing, or uttering other sounds. To the first class belonged the eagle and the vulture; to the second the owl, the crow and the raven. The mere appearance of certain birds indicated good or ill luck, while others had a reference only to definite persons or events. In matters of ordinary life on which divine counsel was prayed for, it was usual to have recourse to this form of divination. (3) Feeding of birds, which consisted in observing whether a bird, usually a fowl, on grain being thrown before it, let fall a particle from its mouth. If it did so, the will of the gods was in favour of the enterprise in question. (4) Signs from animals, *i.e.*, observation of the course of, or sounds uttered by, quadrupeds and reptiles within a fixed space corresponding to the observation of the flight of birds. (5) Warnings consisting of all unusual phenomena, but chiefly such as boded ill. Such were various noises, the fall of a stick in a temple, the squeak of a mouse, stumbling or sneezing. Being accidental in their occurrence, they belonged to the signs of the will of the gods which are incidental as opposed to those in answer to a request.

(II)

The small illustrated MS. of *Kākaruta* which is of a purely secular nature comes from the Ātmārāmajī Jñāna mandir collection founded by the late venerable Muni Śrī Kāntivijayajī at Narasiṁhajī's Pole, Baroda. It deals with divination principally based on the cawing of crows and incidentally on the coincidences occuring at the places they sit upon, they lay their nests, the trees, houses, temples and water reservoirs they visit. The omens are interpreted from the time and season of these occurrences.

The MS. measures 10¼" × 4¼" and is limited to 7 folios only, with 14 lines of uniform handwriting on each side of the folio. It has several outline sketches of crows, some of which are also coloured. The language

[1] See under 'Augurs', Encyclopaedia Britanica, Vol. 2.

of the MS. is Sanskrit, interspersed with Gujarati prose-rendering of the early 16th century.

The MS. is copied in Saṁvat 1588 (1532 A D.) at Devāspur (which may be the modern Devas in C. I. between Ujjain and Indore) when the Sultans of Gujarat held sway over Malwa. The Colophon[2] (folio 7 reverse Plate I) mentions the name of the Sultan during whose rule the MS. was copied : it was done when Mahamud was partly ruling Malwa and when the Gujarat Sultan Bahadurshah was the Suzerain Sultan. Sultan Bahadur ruled Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesa between A. D. 1526 and A. D. 1536. This Mahamud may be the Sultan of Malwa who may have recaptured Malwa from Bahadurshah.

The last Folio (7 obverse Plate II) gives the sketch of Goddess Sarasvatī, whose features are peculiarly allied to those we meet with in the miniatures in the Kalpasūtra paper—MS. of later date. Pointed nose, the projecting eye, the curl of hair touching the cheek, the circular earrings, and the printed clothes are some of the common characteristics of Gujarati miniatures of the pre-Mughal period. In this coloured miniature, the crow is shown seated on the flag of the temple, which is considered auspicious. The other set of four crows on the same folio are also painted with reference to the matter in the text. Folio 6 (Plate III) illustrates on brick-red background two crows seated on the *śikhara* of the temple ; below are shown two ladies drawn in the typical crude manner.

The discovery of this MS. is doubly useful : first, it furnishes new Gujarati miniatures of a secular nature ; secondly, it affords good specimen of early 16th century Old Gujarati Prose.

That the cry of a crow in front of the house is a good omen and forebodes the arrival of the nearest and the dearest is a well-known belief among the Hindus. An interesting miniature on this theme may well be

[2] इति श्री काकरूत शास्त्रे देवलरिपी प्रोक्तं कागरूत शास्त्रं समाप्तं ॥ आगमनिर्गम शास्त्र समाप्तं ॥ श्री संवत १५८८ वर्षे शाके चौदसइत्रिपन्न १४५३ प्रवर्तमाने वैशाख मासे शुक्ल पक्षे द्वितिया दिने मंगल वासरे ॥ पातसाह श्री बहादुरविजयराज्ये देवासहं पुरवरे लषितं ॥ श्री ॥ यादृशं पुस्तके दृष्टं तादृशं लषितं मया । यदि शुद्धमशुद्ध वा मयि दोषो न दीयते ॥ किंचित पातसाह महमुदविजयराज्ये ॥ श्री ॥

Plate I

Plate II





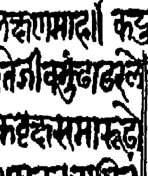
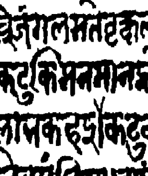






Plate III

Plate IV





Plate V



remembered here. In the Sanskrit verse quoted below [3] from the illustrated picture-roll of Vasanta-Vilāsa, the separated wife promises curds-rice to the friendly crow after her beloved had arrived at the door.

The central idea of this verse has been picked up by the poet of the Gujarati *Dūhās* of the Vasanta-Vilāsa; and the artist of this picture-roll (copied in Saṁvat 1508) has rendered it in line and colour (Picture No. 52 of the V.V.). Plate VII of "Studies in Indian painting" by N. C. Mehta is reproduced here, as it has direct bearing on the subject of this paper (Plate IV). Verses 46-49 of the poem deal with the omen, where the appearance of a crow on a tree is considered and welcomed as a sign of good fortune. In the miniature illustrating these verses the lady is shown welcoming the crow seated amidst the branches of a mango-tree, and offering some eatable to the crow.

The verses are here quoted for reference :—

"When the love-lorn lady saw the crow cawing (which is an omen, presaging the advent of dear ones) her anguish of separation disappeared immediately. She began to praise the crow, particularly because he had forsaken the forest (to give her the happy portent of the return of her dear husband)"—47 "Blessed be your voice. I shall give you all my wealth. For your meal I shall give you boiled rice and curds-rice and a ripe *āmalaka* (a kind of sour fruit)—48. "I shall offer you the fragrance of camphor; you utter your cry once more. I shall get your beak worked beautifully with gold and both your wings with silver."—49. Then as expected from the omen, the darling came at that very moment.—50.[4] A Rajput painting dealing with the same theme may be given here for comparison with the above (iii) miniature as to its technique and composition (Plate V).

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[3] " कोटिं जीव पिबामृतं व्रज सखे शाखान्तरं वायस
आयाते दयितैर्मनोरथशतैर्दास्यामि दध्योदनम् ।
इत्थं जल्पति यावदध्वगवधूस्तावत् पतिः प्राङ्गणे
छिन्नाः कंचुकसंधयस्तडतडद् रोमाञ्चविस्फूर्जिताः ॥ "

[4] " विरह सह् तहि भागलउ कागलउ कुरलतउ पेपि ।
वायसना गुण वरणए अरण ए त्यजीय विशेषि ॥ ४७ ॥

Citrapraśna or Śakuna-mālā is an illustrated work on Jyotisa by looking into which, it is believed, one could read one's immediate future. The picture that first comes to sight when one turns over the pages of the MS. at random will foretell what good or bad will befall one in the near future. The MS contains line-sketches of gods, goddesses, men, women, animals, birds, trees and several other inanimate objects seen in daily use. The sketches are drawn on one side of the MS.; on the side facing the sketch is written a Sanskrit Śloka conveying the good (*Uttama*), bad (*Nesta*) or indifferent (*Madhyama*) result of seeing the picture overleaf. All the verses are in Anustup metre.

In appearance the MS. is less than 100 years old as can be seen from the use of the pencil and the paper, the verses having been copied in indigenous black ink used for writing valuable documents. It has no colophon mentioning the name of its writer or author. It opens with a picture of Ganeśa.

MSS. on Citrapraśna that are known so far are not many. The oldest about 250 years old and the later ones less than 100 years old written with a stylus on palmyra leaf are known. [5] The oldest of these is identical with the one that is introduced through this paper, both as regards the nature and style of the line-sketch and corrupt language of the Sanskrit verse in *anustup* metre. It is likely that they both derive their origin from an older tradition, with few local peculiarities in subject-matter.

This MS. of Śakuna-mālā or Citrapraśna (size 3·5″ × 6″) with about 98 folios, looks like a sketch-book of memory-drawings in pencil. These sketches are important in that they point out the continuation of the art-

धनधन, वायम, तृं सर, मृं रारवसु तं देसु ।
भोजनि कूर करम्बलउ अंबल जरह लहेसु ॥ ४८ ॥
देसु कपूरची वासि रे, वासि वली सर पउ ।
सोवन चांच निरूपम, रूपम पांखडां बेउ ॥ ४९ ॥
शकुन विचार्गि संभाविआ आविआ तिहां वालंभ ॥ ५० ॥

[5] Vide "Three illustrated MS, on Citrapraśna" by P. Anujan Achan —Bulletin of Śrī Rāma Varmā Research Institute, Ernakulam (Cochin State) No. 3, 1934.

tradition in and the characteristics of Gujarati miniature-painting even to a later date.

The location of the MS somewhere in Gujarat is based on internal evidence, such as the one omen (*Śakuna*) which is based on the sight of wrestlers engaged in actual wrestling. Here they are mentioned by the word "Jeṭhīdarśana", although the sketch gives a general representation of a wrestling match. The Jeṭhīs are a subsection of Moḍha Brahmins hailing from North Gujarat, who took up wrestling and gymnastics as a profession and went to distant lands such as Madras in the South and U. P. in the North as experts in the line. The sight of a wrestling fight is said to be neither good nor bad, as the result is always doubtful; accordingly, its *phala* in divination is said to be *Madhyama*. (Plate 6a).[6]

The sight of the crow (either on road-side or in a dream) is said to be positively bad because the crow is associated with oblations given to the dead. The outline-sketch is very realistic (Plate 6b).

The sight of a lady looking in a mirror is very auspicious, because the sixteen forms of worship (Ṣodaśopacāra Pūjā) of a deity also includes the showing of a mirror (Plate 6c).[7]

So also the sight of a maiden who is quite innocent and full of hopes and aspirations is considered auspicious[8] In the sketch illustrating

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6 अल्पसिद्धि अल्पकार्यं अल्पविद्या तथैव च ॥
अल्पकार्यं च संतोषं जेठीदर्शनमेव च ॥ ६४ ॥
मध्यमं ।

अर्थनाशं च हानिश्च मरणं च तथा ध्रुवं ॥
चित्रमेदतरां चैव वायसदर्शनं तथा ॥ २७ ॥
नेष्टं ।

7 अर्थलाभं यशोलाभं सततं सर्वकर्मणि ॥
दर्पणदर्शनं यत्र सर्वं कार्येषु सिद्धिदं ॥ ३० ॥
उत्तमं ।

8 सफलं सर्वकल्याणं पत्रलाभस्तथैव च ॥
सर्वकार्यं भवेत्तस्य कन्यादर्शनमेव च ॥ १८ ॥
उत्तमं ।

this verse, the maiden is shown to hold a Śivaliṅga in her right hand, suggesting thereby that she worships God Śiva for obtaining a nice husband (Plate 6d).

In the portraiture of ladies in the two sketches—the pointed nose, the long eyes, the circular ear-rings, the tuft of hair in a single plate—these are all reminiscent of the early Gujarati style of miniature painting.

The cumulative effect of these fresh materials of Gujarati secular paintings on divination is that they form a class by themselves, and are valuable additions to the known secular miniatures of the *Vasanta-Vilāsa*,[9] the secular subjects in the margins of the *Kalpasūtra* MS. of the Devasā's Pāḍā Bhanḍār, which include among other things singing and dancing poses,[10] and the *Rati-Rahasya*[11] which have nothing to do with any creed on religion as such.

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[9] Vide N. C. Mehat's papers on the same:
(i) Rupam No. 13 (1924)
(ii) Studies in Indian Painting, 1926 (Bombay)
(iii) A further essay on Vasanta Vilāsa, 1931 (London)

[10] Vide Mr. Sarabhai Navaba's "Citrakalpadruma" (1935). (Plate XLVI).

[11] Vide my paper on "Two illustrated MSS. of Rati-Rahasya of the Gujarat school of painting"—Journal of the Bombay University, May 1937.

Plate VI a

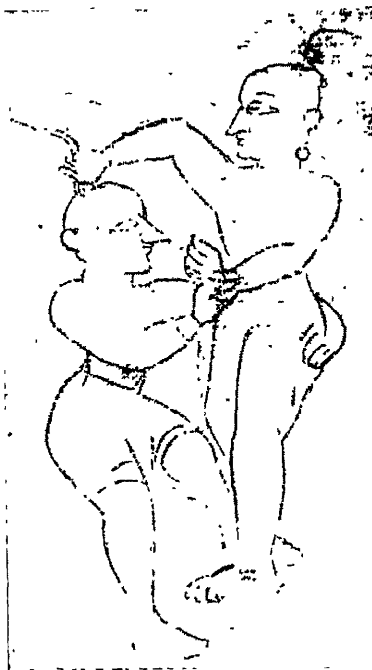


Plate VI b

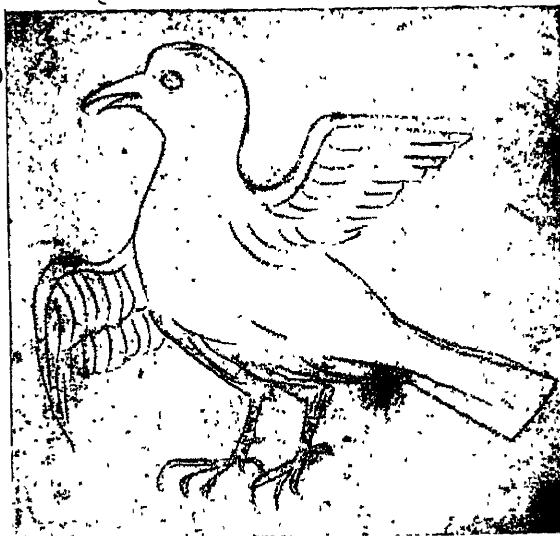


Plate VI d



Plate VI c



A NEW DOCUMENT OF GUJARATI PAINTING

A GUJARATI VERSION OF GITAGOVINDA*

NANALAL CHAMANLAL MEHTA, I.C.S. (retired)

Some years ago almost at the threshold of my studies in Indian Art, I ventured to designate what were till then known as Jain paintings as specimens of a distinctive Gujarati school.[1] Most of the material

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* Since the article was written about 2 years ago, some extremely interesting data regarding Gujarati painting in the 15th century, if not earlier, have been found primarily due to the courtesy of my old friend, Muni Jinavijayji of Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana, and that famous bibliophile and scholar Muni Punyavijayji Maharaj. The material consists chiefly of manuscripts illustrating the story of Mādhavānala and Chaura-Panchāśikā as well as some very beautiful *vijñapti-patras* or the letters written by the Jain laity. An unusually illustrated wooden panel has been found perhaps of the period of Hemachandra. This also must wait for a detailed study. The new material is not only interesting on account of its inherent value, but also because of its unusual aesthetic qualities. It is also interesting to note that a place like Cutch appears to have been a centre of artistic activities, though at present it is only distinguished by its unusual and outmoded currency and the almost defunct textile work of exquisite patterns and some rather beautiful traditional silverware. I propose to write about this material separately. The new material and particularly the variety of subjects depicted make it undoubtedly clear that the Gujarati school had wide geographical extension and considerable and justifiable vogue in the days of its glory.

[1] I would have preferred the term 'Rājasthānī' to 'Gujarati' painting but for the fact that the use of the former has been associated for a long time with the paintings mostly of the 17th and the 18th centuries belonging primarily to Jaipur which have been executed in a style totally different from what I have called 'Gujarati painting' from the 11th to the 16th centuries. It should, however, never be forgotten that old Gujarat was integrally a part of Rājasthān and if I have used the phrase 'Gujarati painting' it is because the bulk of the

which was then available related to Jainism. The illustrated manuscript of Vasanta-Vilāsa (1451 A. D.) was the first important document of non-Jain paintings belonging to the Western school. The name that I had given to these paintings has been more than justified as a result of the new material which has been discovered and studied during the last few years.

I have always felt that in a country like India it is a mistake to divide art with reference to creeds, for it is well-known that the exec-

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paintings of this school were produced in what is now called Gujarat and apparently the word 'Gujarati' was considered a mark of distinction and used by singers, painters, and other artisans, at any rate, during the regime of Akbar. It is also curious to note that in a sixth century Tamil poem Manimekhalai there is a reference to the sculptures from Vardhamāna Purī or modern Wadhwan (Kāthiawāḍ). So even Kāthiawāḍ, which now apparently has but scanty remains of anything which may be called significantly artistic, had once upon a time a vogue and a reputation. On the whole, however, it may be said that Kāthiawāḍ does not appear to have played a part of much importance in the artistic development of Gujarat and this would be borne out by the fact that Kāthiawāḍ, despite its inclusion of 'Saurāṣṭra', is an incredibly barren and unproductive region of India—even more arid than the major portion of Marwar and is only important because of the enterprise of its people and the shrewdness of its chieftains. Agriculturally and, therefore, economically Kāthiawāḍ could not support any great centres of wealth or learning in the past and there are no traditions of any such centres that one can find.

The nomenclature of Gujarati painting derives added significance from the achievements of the Gujarati school of architecture which flourished for about 250 years beginning from the early 15th century "With the reign of Mahmud I Begarha, (1459-1511) came Gujarat's greatest days, and at the same time the building art of that country also attained its final and most sumptuous form." [Page 53: Percy Brown's Indian Architecture (Islamic Period) -1942].

The fame of the Gujarati craftsmen appears to have been on a par with that of the painters, for one of the finest structures in Akbar's Fatehpur-Sikri—Jodhbai's Palace "was entrusted to a part of artisans from Gujarat, one of the groups of workmen brought from distant parts to speed up the production of this vast project" (Pp. 98-99, Ibid. Also see Pp. 56-57). They merely continued the great traditions of Solanki if not earlier buildings.

utant worked for patrons of every religion and that the distinction was really more geographical than theological. Apart from the fact that the local schools generally have their peculiar characteristics, the geographical classification has the further advantage of emphasizing the regional rather than religious characteristics of works of art. The Gujarati school has got certain characteristic features not only in the matter of paintings but also of architecture, sculpture and dance. As a matter of fact, the school is really distinctive of its people ; but it must be remembered that what is Gujarat at present is only an administrative arrangement and has nothing to do either with its real and cultural extension in space or time. Some years ago, I found that a tribe called the Gujars led a nomadic existence on the steppes of Kashmir and grazed cattle at a level of 12,000 to 14,000 feet above the sea level. The language of these people is said to be akin to Gujarati and it is perhaps probable that these people may have given their name to the district of Gujarat in the Punjab. A registered 'criminal' tribe in the district of Muzaffarnagar (United Provinces called the Bāwariās, uses also the *patois* strangely akin to Gujarati and, curiously enough, is addicted to non-violence in pursuit of —its criminal activities. This peculiar tribe believes in non-violent crime —crime which is carried out by an elaborate system of personation and fraud. Whether the old Gujaratis now inhabiting the north and the north-western part of the Bombay Presidency came from these northern and nomadic ancestors, can be only a matter of conjecture. There can, however, be no doubt that they have had the closest affinities with Rājasthān and that the boundaries of Gujarat and the Gujarati culture must be taken to embrace a major part of Rajputana. Historically also the Śrīmālīs and the Porwāḍ Vāṇiās or the Vaiśyas who play such a leading role in the commercial life of Gujarat migrated from the well-known historical places of Śrīmāla and Prāgvātā. Their close affinity with the fighting clans of the Rajputs is further corroborated by the shining exploits of the rulers and their ministers who have left such enduring monuments of their valour, generosity and good taste. It is also important to note that the two principal creeds of modern Gujarat find some of their most sacred places of pilgrimage in the very heart of Rajputana— Śrī Nāthadwārā for the Vaisnavas and Śrī Kesariyājī for the Jains.

The linguistic affinities as well as those of enterprise, frugality, high-minded charity and piety between the peoples of Rajputana and Gujarat are well-known.

The Gujarati school of painting should, therefore, be understood as embracing not only what is known as Gujarat at present but also the major portion of Rājasthān, at any rate up to the end of the seventeenth century when the provincial Courts of Rajputana came to be greatly influenced by the current idiom of the Moghul atelier.

Hitherto the pictorial material representative of the Gujarati school of painting has been, barring the richly illuminated and illustrated Kalpa-sūtras and Kālakāchārya Kathānakam, limited. Vasanta-Vilāsa had 79 pictures on cloth, the largest being 5·7" by 7·6". A number of Vaiṣṇava and other manuscripts have been recently studied especially by Dr. M. R. Majmudar including the Gītagovinda, Bālagopāla Stūti, Devī-Māhātmya, Rati-Rahasya, and some later pictures of Śrīmad Bhāgavata dated 1610 A. D. The Gītagovinda studied by him refers to six out of the ten avatāras of Kṛṣṇa with an introductory one for Śāradā. Other early manuscripts of the Gītagovinda have been published by Stella Kramrisch in the December 1934 number of the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. The manuscript that I propose to discuss is perhaps one of the earliest and the most elaborately illustrated version of Gītagovinda, and of probably the early sixteenth century. The manuscript is in a fair state of preservation and has 159 folios with four missing. The size of the folio is 12¾"×7".

As pointed out by Dr. Majmudar, the popularity of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda in Western India within less than 200 years of Jayadeva's demise is remarkable. Apparently the Gītagovinda heralded the growing tide of Vaiṣṇavism which was to dominate the popular and religious life of the people throughout Hindustan almost right up to the end of the 17th century. The Gītagovinda apparently became a favourite composition not only with the connoisseurs of Sanskrit and the Vaiṣṇava devotees but also with the illuminators and illustrators right uptil the end of the 18th, and even in the beginning of the 19th century. I have seen stray pages of Gītagovinda done in the Moghul style in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir at



द्दनिवसामिनगणितवनवेतसा
रतिमधुसूदनोमामपिनचेतसा॥७
दरिचरणशरणजयदेवकविभारतीवसतुहृदियुवतिरि
वकोमलकलावती॥८॥१३

Bombay belonging obviously to the time of Akbar. There is a magnificent version of Gītagovinda with the Tehri Darbar, examples of which were re-produced in my book "Studies in Indian Painting". Another very remarkable version is the one painted by Mānakū in the Basholi style and exhibited in the Lahore Museum. This particular version has raised several intriguing questions. The authorship of the paintings is claimed by Mānakū, a woman painter, who claims to have produced the illustrated edition in the year 1787 Saṁvat or 1730 A. D. The verse is illuminated in gold and forms an integral part of the opening picture of the Gītagovinda. It is a pity that the beautiful pictures of Mānakū have not yet been adequately reproduced or won a widespread popularity, as they deserve.

I have seen other versions of the Gītagovinda in the later and highly ornate Rājasthānī style but none of these pictures rival those in the collections of the Tehri Darbar and the Lahore Museum.

The manuscript that I have recently acquired is probably the most profusely illustrated document of Gujarati painting and is interesting in a variety of ways. The illustrations enclosed in a rectangle of red lines cover the entire page with the relevant Sanskrit text inscribed at the top. Only one side of the folio is used and the paper while it has stood the test of time, is not of the same superlative quality as one often comes across in respect of Moghul paintings. The writing, as will be seen from some of the reproduction given here, is good and perhaps above the average of most Sanskrit manuscripts of the period. But here again it cannot compare with either the quality or the care devoted to the writing of Persian manuscripts of the Moghul Court.

In style and in the quality of the pictures, the manuscript is remarkable. The drawing is swift, precise and vital, and the artist moves from one incident to another with a sense of confidence and sure improvisation. The figures are more alive than in any of the known examples of Gujarati painting. The colouring is brilliant, warm and striking, though the palette is limited chiefly to the use of reds, blues, whites and greens. There is no attempt at subtle combinations or producing an impression of impeccable or ingenious craftsmanship. The pictures have an atmosphere of intimacy

and the studied simplicity both of line and colour would appear to be understood equally well by the artist and his audience. Almost every picture would have made a magnificent mural. It was as if the art of the fresco had been abridged into the folios of a manuscript.

The illustrated folios are distributed as follows :—

Cantos.	*Folios.*
I.	1-40
II.	41-51
III.	52-58
IV.	59-70
V.	71-84
VI.	85-89
VII.	90-110
VIII.	111-115
IX.	116-119
X.	120-128
XI.	129-141
XII.	142-163

The scene is laid on the banks of the Jumna, but it is not the Jumna of the Pahari painter—rushing down from its mountainous retreats and whirling in swift turns through scenes of verdant glory. The Jumna as seen by the Gujarati painter is but a placid stream winding through the Braj Mandal and all that he could conjure up in his vision—a stream replete with fish and branching trees (probably *kadamba*) on its banks. There are none of the magnificent trees, the brilliant creepers of the flowering plants which the Pahari painter associated with its precipitous descent across the Himalayas.

As usual in pictures of this particular school, the size of the painted object is primarily the function of its importance and not of relative or spatial proportions. For example, a bee or a bird may be painted unusually large because the artist intends to emphasize its prominence. In other words, the whole object of illustrated manuscripts like the Gītagovinda was to give a racy, colourful and easily understandable version of the popular poem. Just as, for instance, the heroes of the 'Cochin Murals',

a sumptuous publication by the Cochin Government (1940) illustrating the Rāmāyāna and of others in the Padmanābhapuram Palace in the Travancore State illustrating the incidents from the *dashāvatāra*—the ten incarnations—and the Mahābhārata are dressed up in the costumes of the Kathakali dancers, the characters in these early manuscripts of the Gujarati school would look as if they were a part of the popular pictorial show—the *bhavai* or the *swāng* which the people were used to see on the appropriate festivals.

The dramatic personae are generally outlined in red, while the entire landscape of trees and creepers along with the humming-bees and the chattering birds are depicted with the brush—a rather uncommon and unusual departure in Indian manuscript or miniature paintings. Colour is literally thrown in and quite frequently overflows the limits of the encompassing lines.

It is unnecessary to repeat the characteristic features of the Gujarati school. It will suffice to draw attention to some special features of this particular Ms. The main interest centres on the treatment of the figures. There is no attempt at making the figures "speak". The emphasis is almost wholly on gestures and movements. Facial expression is generally the same, but it is remarkable how the artist has been able to make his figures live by concentrating on simple gestures and significant poses. Kāmadeva,—Cupid, figures quite prominently and is generally shown standing on one foot and shooting the flower-edged dart of deshi. Dancing postures seem to be favoured.

Jayadeva, the author of the Gītagovinda, with his stringed *ekatārā* or *vīṇā* is depicted in a number of panels attired in dhoti, *dupaṭṭā* and a cap. It is not a portrait but merely the conventional depiction of the author in a mood of humility and in accord with the ancient Tradition. The landscape of conventional trees with broad leaves and spreading branches, humming bees and clamorous birds, furnishes the background for the romantic *sortie* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, when the sky was overcast; the night was dark and young Kṛṣṇa was afraid of walking to his home across the Jumna. The bee and the cuckoo (*Kokilā*) are naturally prominent as the heralds of spring. The emphasis, however, is on the movements of the principal actors in the poem.

Perhaps the striking thing about these various pictures is the information that is available regarding the costumes of the people in the epoch just preceding the advent of the Moghals. The diaphanous *jāmā* or the *aṅgarakhā* with deep angular slits at the ends as also the transparent scarf or the *chunri* of the ladies is perhaps the most striking. This particular type of *aṅgarakhā* is found in some of the earlier pictures of the Court of Akbar, particularly in respect of the portraits of Hindu personages. It would appear, however, that this type of *aṅgarakhā* was the prevailing dress of the Hindu gentry, at any rate in Rajputana and that it was adopted with modifications at the new Imperial Court of Agra and Delhi. The ordinary *deśī* shoe is also to be seen as well as the *ṭopī*, apart from the *kamarband* or the waist-band so characteristic in the delineation of the grandees of the Moghal Court at a later period and still in use in Rajputana. The peaked cap—the prevalent headgear in the pictures of Vasanta-Vilāsa was probably something of the nature of *ṭopī* or a *mukuṭa*. The word '*ṭopikā*' was used in a work of the 12th century called Abhilaṣitārtha-Chintāmaṇi and was particularly commended for monsoon wear. Kāmadeva is generally attired in *dhoti* and cap. The masculine beard as well as long coiffure seem to have got out of fashion since the days of Vasanta-Vilāsa. Women folk, on the other hand, cover their heads with the ends of the *chunri*, tie their hair in a free dangling knot and carry the curious black wrist band probably as a safeguard against the 'evil eye' which is not generally found after the end of the 16th century, but is quite characteristic of the paintings of the Court of Akbar. The fashion of putting of the auspicious mark on the forehead seems to be just coming into fashion. Judging in fact from the costumes word by the women, one would be inclined to think that the manuscript was really painted at one of the Vaiṣṇava centres in Rajputana such as Nāthadwārā, for the dress of the women is almost like that of the Marwari lady of the present day. The big round ear-rings are also there and appear to have been the weakness of Gujaratis as allowed by a writer of the 10th century A. D.

Both men and women seem to prefer coloured clothes with check and floral designs and the men are not averse to combining diaphanous *aṅgarakhā* with coloured or even striped or patterned pyjāmās. The *dupaṭṭā* or long scarf thrown round the neck gives a certain amount of scope to the



Plate No. II





Plate No. IV



artist to impart movement to his masculine figures, as also the angular ends of the *aṅgarakhā* and of the headgear, the *sāfā* or the turban.

The dating of the Gītagovinda Ms. is not wholly free from difficulties. The epigraphical evidence of the top *mātrās* is not conclusive for ascribing the manuscript to a later period. The style of the painting is primitive, brilliant and virile and would, *prima facie*, indicate an earlier origin than the 15th or the 16th centuries and this would not be rebutted merely by the presence of the angular and diaphanous *aṅgarakhā*, the waist band and the flowing *dupaṭṭās* or the coloured trousers, for it is well-known that the pyjāmās or breeches at any rate, are as old as the 1st century A. D. The famous statue of Kaniṣka for instance of the 1st century A. D. shows the great ruler clad in what would be now called breeches and top boots and a long coat. The predominance of the *aṅgarakhā* and the trousers may be explained by the fact that Jayadeva's poem was acted and painted as a *yātrā* or a *bhavai* in which the male characters, at any rate, were dressed like those of the princely order. I would imagine that even in the bygone days there was a differenciation in the costume of the common folk as distinguished from those of the higher classes, just as at present. The latter probably wore the *aṅgarakhā* and the pyjāmās while the rest patronised the *dhoti*. In some ways the pictures of the Vasanta-Vilāsa as well as of contemporary Jain manuscripts look to me to be more sophisticated, the drawing and colouring more accomplished and deliberate than the pictures of the present manuscript. But mere crudity of execution is quite often a sign of indifferent workmanship or sheer deterioration as, for instance, in the Jodhpur Bhāgavata painted by Govinda in 1610 A. D. The technique of the Gītagovinda pictures is doubtless old and more akin to that of fresco painting than almost any other Gujarati painting that I have seen; and all I would like to affirm is that the manuscript cannot be later than the 1st quarter of the 16th century. How much earlier it is, it is not possible to say with any degree of accuracy.

My friend Mr. O. C. Gangoly has a feeling that the pictures of the manuscript may "belong to the earlier phase—revealing the style in the making rather than later compositions". I have learnt to be some what cautious in the matter of dating Indian painting as well as sculptures. A Rāginī series, for instance, with all the characteristic marks of the period of Akbar were by a definite inscription a hundred years later, and it is well known that the style of the Jain manuscripts remains constant over a

period of 2-3 centuries. On examination of the existing material I would be content to date this particular manuscript between the later part of the 15th and the early years of the 16th century.

The significance of the ends of sarees being drawn over the head should not also be lost sight of. This is doubtless a later development and would point, therefore, to the Gītagovinda being subsequent to Vasanta-Vilāsa. It is known that the saree as known now came into vogue early in the 16th century.

The bourgeois art of Gujarati manuscript painting seems to have retained its individuality till about the end of the 16th century and though it continued to produce richly illustrated documents, its native characteristics were submerged into the new idiom of the Rājasthānī and the Pahari schools which continued to exist vigorously till almost the first quarter of the 19th century. From a pure pictorial point of view the present manuscript constitutes a valuable, racy, and even elegant interpretation of Jayadeva's masterpiece, which it should not be forgotten, was composed at a time when the emphasis on erotics seems to have been greater in the art of the country than either before or after.

N. B. I am indebted to Dr. Manjulal R. Majmudar, M. A. LL. B., Ph.D. Professor of Gujarati, Baroda College, for the photographs and the reprints of his various studies in Gujarati paintings.

Notes on the Plates

It is not always easy to relate the pictures to the text above.

Plate 1 is remarkable in having the picture of the poet playing on the musical instrument, clothed in white and seated in the centre under possibly what is intended to be a *kadamba* tree. The snake like figure on the extreme right is curious and I do not quite understand its significance.

Plate 2. The centre is occupied with a set of lotuses arranged vertically with bees prominently delineated. On the extreme right is cupid—the additional character introduced by the painter in addition to the three personages in the poem itself, namely, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and her friend.

Plate 3. Kāmadeva is repeated twice. The picture is remarkable however for the poses and the costume of the women.

Plate 4. The poses of Kṛṣṇa as well as Kāmadeva on the right are interesting as also the costumes and the ornaments.

Plate 5. Rādhā is persuaded by her friend not to delay meeting the Lord. The pose of Kāmadeva is striking as well as the differenciation of the trees and the great prominence given to the bees—the friends of Vasanta.

JAYADEVA KAVI

DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTARJI,
Professor, Calcutta University

Jayadeva, the author of the *Gītagovinda*, is pre-eminent among Sanskrit poets and is acknowledged universally to be the writer of the sweetest lyrics in the Sanskrit language. His name comes spontaneously at the end as the last great poet in an enumeration of the classic poets of Sanskrit—Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhartṛhari, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti, Māgha, Kṣemendra, Somadeva, Bilhaṇa, Śrīharṣa, Jayadeva. He is in fact the last of the great classic poets of Sanskrit of pan-Indian celebrity, whose influence on the later poets and scholars all over India through his single work, the *Gītagovinda*, is comparable to that of the great Kālidāsa himself. The tradition of verse-composition in Sanskrit remained unabated in India after the 12th century when Jayadeva flourished, but the coming of the Turks and the rise of the vernaculars restricted to the patronage and popularity (though not the production) of poetical and other works in Sanskrit in the subsequent centuries. Great poets indeed arose in Mohamadan times, showing that the Hindu mind as it expressed itself in the classical language of India was capable of rising very near to the highest level attained by it under more propitious conditions five hundred or a thousand years before; poets whose works shed lustre on both the Sanskrit scholarship and the poetic genius of India and who deserve to be resuscitated and critically studied with almost as much care as the ancients as forming one of the most brilliant manifestations of the Indian spirit during the last few centuries—*e. g.*, Rūpa Gosvāmī, and Jīva Gosvāmī, Kavi Karṇapūra, Jagannātha Kavi and Nīlakāṇṭha Dīkṣita;—but the era of Classical Sanskrit poetry closes with the 12th century; and Jayadeva sang not only the swan-song of the age which was passing away but he also sang in the advent of a new age in Indian literature—the vernacular age: he thus stands at the *yuga-sandhi*, a confluence of two epochs, with a guiding hand for the new epoch that was coming.

Thanks to his having been a most charming singer of the divine love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, Jayadeva most easily came to be regarded (at least among certain sections of the Indian people) as an inspired poet who revealed to us this divine love in a mundane garb when the Bhakti schools of a neo-Hindu revival with Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as the ideals of the masses came into prominence to resist the Islamic onslaught. The *Gītagovinda* obtained the status of a religious work, and its author was honoured as a Vaiṣṇava devotee and saint who had received the special grace of Kṛṣṇa Himself; as such, Jayadeva became embodied in the Vaiṣṇava tradition which is current at the present day, with an honoured place in Vaiṣṇava hagiology. His name and fame as much as his work have come down to the masses. Stories about him are a part of the devotional romance which exalts the life of the average man. This fortune has never been that of any other poet in India—the figures of Vālmiki and Vyāsa and to some extent of Kālidāsa apart, which too legend and medieval piety have lifted to the clouds high above the sober *terra firma* of literary history.

The age of Jayadeva is well established—he flourished during the second half of the 12th century, and was one of the court-poets of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the last Hindu king of Bengal. The main facts of his life have been noted by the late Manmohan Chakravarti (in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1906: " Sanskrit literature in Bengal during the Sena Rule, pp. 163-169). We know from the *Gītagovinda* itself the names of his parents Bhojadeva and Rāmādevī or Vāmādevī or Rādhādevī, of his wife Padmāvatī, of his dear friend Parāsara who used to sing the songs of the *Gītagovinda*, and of his contemporary poets who like him wrote in Sanskrit and who are known from other sources—*e. g.*, Umāpatidhara, Śaraṇa Ācārya Govardhana and Dhoyī Kavirāja, as well as of his native village Kendubilva. There were several authors of the name of Jayadeva, but we know something definite about the author of the *Gītagovinda*. He belonged to Bengal and was connected with the court of the last Hindu king of Bengal. His native village Kendubilva is now the well-known village of Kenduli on the Ajay River in Birbhum district in West Bengal, where an annual fair and festival (melā) is held to commemorate him. Vaiṣṇava tradition (as preserved in the Bhaktamāla-ṭīkā)

says that his wife who was intended by her father to be a temple-dancer at the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, but Jagannātha or Viṣṇu Himself in a dream directed the father to marry her to Jayadeva. Another tradition (preserved in the *Sekaśubhodaya*)[1] makes Padmāvatī an accomplished singer also who with her husband entered into a contest with a famous musician from outside Bengal named Buḍhana Miśra. Jayadeva himself seems to hint at his wife having been an accomplished *danseuse.* When he describes himself as *Padmāvatī-carana-cāraṇa-cakravartī* *i. e.*, "the (veritable) suzerain to cause the feet of Padmāvatī to move (in dance)." It is quite conceivable that Padmāvatī was intended by her parents to be dedicated to the temple of Jagannātha as a *deva-dāsī* or temple-dancer, and was consequently trained in dancing and music, but she was finally married to Jayadeva. Traditions current in Bengal make this marriage a very happy one, both husband and wife being devoted to Kṛṣṇa, and Jayadeva's love and pride for his wife is clearly indicated by several references to her in his work.

Jayadeva must have held an honoured place in the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena among poets, scholars and musicians who formed the *entourage* of the monarch. The well-known anthology of Sanskrit verses the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, compiled by S'rīdhara-dāsa the son of Vaṭu-dāsa, a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and Jayadeva, quotes as many as 31 verses from Jayadeva's compositions, including at least 4 from the *Gītagovinda* which shows he had obtained during his life-time quite a recognition as a poet. Some of the verses ascribed to Jayadeva in this anthology, if they are really his (and there is no reason why they should not be) would show Jayadeva to be a poet of warfare as much as of love. His *Gītagovinda* would appear to have become popular from the very beginning: the opening

[1] The 'Sekaśubhodaya' or 'the Holy Advent of the Shaikh' is a work of Mohammadan inspiration giving the life and miracles of a Muslim Saint who visited the Court of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Bengal before the coming of the Turks unedr Bakhtyār Khaljī in 1203 It is written in barbarious Sanskrit based on Bengali, and was prepared out of old traditions going back to the 12th-13th centuries sometime during the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. Edited by Dr. Sukumar Sen in the Bengali character with notes in the Hṛṣīkeśa Series, Calcutta, 1927.

verse of the work appears to have inspired his royal patron and one of the princes to compose at least one verse each emulating it. The opening verse of the *Gītagovinda*,

" meghair meduram ambaraṁ, vana-bhuvaś śyāmās tamāla-drumair ;
naktaṁ, bhīrur ayaṁ, tvam eva tad imaṁ, Rādhe ! gṛhaṁ prāpaya :"
itthaṁ Nanda-nideśataś calitayoḥ pratyadhva-kuñjadrumaṁ
Rādhā-Mādhavayor jayanti Yamunā-kūle rahaḥ-kelayaḥ.

has its plain meaning that it was at the instance of Nanda, Kṛṣṇa's fond foster-father, that Rādhā took the latter home as he was afraid to return alone because of the dark and cloudy night, and this opportunity was taken advantage of by the divine lovers, like human lovers under similar circumstances. This *līla* or sport conjures up a little situation which the poet hails with the indulgence of devotion: the unsuspecting, doting old Nanda makes it easy for the lovers to have their wish, and thus unwittingly helps in bringing about their union. But this simple and on the face of it obvious situation was lost sight of by later Vaiṣṇava scholasticism in Bengal, and an approved interpretation, which would not tolerate the presence of Nanda in the scene, took the words *Nanda-nideśatah* to mean, not what undoubtedly was the meaning intended (*viz.*, ' according to the direction of Nanda '), but ' joy-bringing message (of Radhā's friends,) ', and made the first two lines an utterance not of Nanda but of a supposed friend of Rādhā. The contemporary anthology the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* gives two companion poems modelled on the above verse, one by Keśava Sena, the son of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena, and the other by the King hismself. Keśava Sena evidently wished to furnish a companion verse by suggesting a similar opportunity unwittingly brought about for the lovers by Yaśodā, the foster-mother of Kṛṣṇa : and his verse, in the same Śārdūla-vikrīdita metre, runs as follows :

" āhūtādya mahotsave, niśi gṛhaṁ śūnyaṁ vimuchyāgatā :
kṣībaḥ preṣya-janaḥ · kathaṁ kula-vadhūr, ekākinī yāsyati ?
vatsa, twam tad imāṁ nayālayam "–iti śrutvā Yaśodā–giro,
Rādhā–Mādhavayor jayanti madhura–smerālasā dṛṣṭayaḥ.

It is now Kṛṣṇa who is asked by Yaśodā to take Rādhā home, as the attendants who could be sent to accompany her have got drunk in the

feast. This verse of Prince Ke'ava Sena quoted in the anthology read along with the opening verse of the *Gītagovinda* makes it clear that *Nanda-nideśataḥ* means 'at the bidding of Nanda' and not what pietistic scholasticism of later Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal would make the phrase mean. This common-sense reading of the verse is also supported by a number of Kangra and other paintings depicting the scene—Nanda sending Kṛṣṇa along with Rādhā in the back-ground of a pastoral scene in the forest.

The verse ascribed to king Lakṣmaṇa Sena may also be quoted, and its inspiration is also clear:

> " *Kṛṣṇa, tvad-vana-mālayā saha-kṛtaṁ,*" *kenâpi kuñjôdare,*
> *gopī-kuntala-barha-dāma, tad idaṁ prāptaṁ mayā ; gṛhyatām :*"
> *itthaṁ dugdha-mukhena gopa-śiśunâkhyāte, trapā-namrayoḥ*
> *Rādhā-Mādhavayor jayanti valita-smerâlasā dṛṣṭayaḥ.*

Here the old King seems to wind up the situation by suggesting that the tryst of he lovers was made known—also unwittingly.

The refrain-like agreement in the first part of the fourth line in all the three verses (*Rādhā-Mādhavayor jayanti* . . . . .) is to be noted. These three verses probably record quite a pleasant episode in verse composition by emulation in the court circle, in which the ruler, his son, and the most esteemed poet of the day took part, with the other members of the circle participating with their approbation, one of whom the anthologist S'rīdhara-dāsa recording the poems of the royal poets for posterity.

Jayadeva's fame appears to have spread over the whole of India very rapidly. His *Gītagovinda* met a want which literary men in both Sanskrit and the newly rising vernaculers were feeling—the book presented a wedding of the spirit of Classical Sanskrit to that of Apabhraṁśa and the New Indo-Aryan Bhāṣā. Legend and Romance as an aid to the Hindu revival through the Bhakti movement was presented in a charming form in the *Gītagovinda*. Within one hundred years of its appearance, we find a verse from it quoted as a benedictory invocation in an inscription in distant Gujarat in Patan (Aṇahilvāḍa) dated Saṁvat 1348=1292 A. D. (See article by Manmohan Chakravarti, referred to above). Its popularity in Gujarat and Rajputana was as great as in Bengal and Orissa, in the

Punjab Hills and in the North Indian Plains. Lines and tags are quoted and ideas are borrowed in Bengali, Oriya, Hindi and Gujarati poetry from very early times. The *Śrīkṛṣṇa-Kīrtana* of Baḍu Caṇḍidāsa, the oldest Middle-Bengali poet (c. 1400?) whose work we have, has paraphrased two songs from *Gītagovinda*, and lines are reminiscent of Jayadeva.

The early Gujarati poem Vasanta-Vilāsa (composed c. 1450 A. D. according to Professor Kantilal B. Vyas, and about 1350 A. D. in the opinion of Muni S'rī Jinvijayajī) similarly shows verses which have echoes of the *Gītagovinda* (*e. g.* verses 7,19,32,36,69ff). Some 37 commentaries, one of the earliest being the *Rasika-priyā* by Rāṇā Kumbha of Mewar (1433-1468 A. D.) are known,—the *Gītagovinda* is one of the most commented works of Sanskrit. These commentators belong to all parts of India, including South India. At least a dozen Sanskrit poems by different writers paying a high compliment to the *Gītagovinda* by imitating it have been composed, excluding a few in the vernaculars. We learn from an Oriya inscription in Puri temple dated 1499 A. D. which was inscribed under the orders of King Pratāpa-rudra, that from that date only the songs and poems of the *Gītagovinda* and from no other work were to be sung and recited by the *deva-dāsīs* and the singers and the reciters serving in the temple (cf. Manmohan Chakravarti in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, 1893, pp. 96-97). Its place in what may be called the "Apabhraṁśa" and "Early Hindi" pictorial art (the so-called Old Gujarati and Early Rajput art) of medieval India and in the "Later Hindi" art of Rajasthan, Bundelkhand, Basohli and Kangra, as well as in the local art of other parts of India—Bengal, Orissa, the Telugu Country, has been quite considerable.

The *Gītagovinda* combines the spirit of Classical Sanskrit poetry and that of Apabhraṁśa and Early Bhāṣā poetry. Its 12 sargas or cantos contain 24 *gītas* or songs, or to give an alternative name, 24 *padas* or lyrics scattered through the work. The framework of the poem, the verses forming the discriptive portion, is in the orthodox style of Classical Sanskrit, in manner and metre, in ideas and vocabulary; but the songs breathe the atmosphere of Apabhraṁśa and Early Bhāṣā or New Indo-Aryan. The metres are the moric ones of Apabhraṁśa and Early Bhāṣā, with none,

both final and interior. More than one scholar has suspected that the songs were originally written in Apabhraṁśa or Old Bhāṣā (Old Bengali in this case) (Cf. Pischel referring to Lassen in his *Grammatik derth Prakrit-sprachen*, § 32; Bijaya Chandra Majumdar in the Introduction to his Bengali translation of the *Gītagovinda*). It is not unlikely that these Apabhraṁśa or Old Bengali verses obtained a great popularity, and this induced Jayadeva to render them into Sanskrit, to give them a permanent and a pan-Indian form. Of course this is a surmise, which is based on four facts:

(i) The Apabhraṁśa and Old Bhāṣā (as opposed to the Classical Sanskrit) character of the *gītas*, which need not be discussed in detail, as it is apparent on the face of it.

(ii) The presence of a mass of Apabhraṁśa and Old Bhāṣā poems recalling many of the *gītas* of Jayadeva's work which are to be found in works like the *Prākrta-Paingala* (end of the 15th century) and the *Mānaso-llāsa* or the *Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi* (first half of the 12th century). (See in this connection my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta 1926, pp. 123-127 and pp. 1063-1065).

(iii) A few of the lines in the songs read better as Apabhraṁśa or Old Bhāṣā than as Sanskrit, and fit in better with the scheme of pauses in the line which agrees with Old Bengali very closely (*e. g.*, the line *smarati mano mama krta-parihāsam* in the refrain of Song 5 gives a better subdivision into feet when rendered in the Apabhraṁśa—*sumarai* | *maṇa mama* | *kia-parihāsaṁ*=⏑⏑⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑⏑⏑ — —||; the line *Śrī-Jayadeva-Kaver idaṁ* | *kurute mudaṁ* | *maṅgalam ujjvala-gīti* has one *mātrā* or mora in excess in the first and second feet, which can be rectified by reading these feet in the Apabhraṁśa style as *Śrī-Jayadeva-Kaveridā̃* / *kurute mudā̃* /, as it has been pointed out by Dr. Sukumar Sen—who however is not in favour of regarding the songs of Jayadeva as being originally in anything but Sanskrit). The metres of the songs have their counterparts in the vernacular metres of Bengali and other Eastern Bhāṣās.

(iv) Finally, the *Gītagovinda*, inspite of its being a narrative poem, has a dramatic element in it: the songs sung by the *Gopī* friends of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa or by the divine lovers themselves are like so many speeches.

It unquestionably had something to do in evolution of the popular *Yātrā* or song-drama of the old type in Bengal on the one hand, in all possibility being in part modelled on some kind of primitive vernacular narrative-cum-conversation-cum-lyric with the background of instrumental music; and on the other, it would appear to be connected with a tradition which continued to flourish in Mithilā or North Bihar in which we have dramas with the dialogues in Sanskrit and Prakrit prose, as usual in Sanskrit drama, but the verses or songs in the vernacular—in Maithili. A number of such dramas are noted by Sir George Grierson in his *Maithili Grammar* (Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Second Edition, 1909, pp. xiv, xv). Grierson himself has published one such drama in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna, for 1917 (the *Pārijāta-haraṇa* of Umāpati Upādhyāya of the first quarter of the 14th century). This tradition passed on to Nepal, in the Newari court of which part of India the trdition was modified to some extent—the dialogues were in a broken Bengali or Maithili, and the songs in Maithili or Kosali (Eastern Hindi), with stage directions in the Tibeto-Burman Newari. So that it is quite, conceivable that the *Gītagovinda* in its first draft or primitive form, with its Apabhraṁśa or vernacular *gītas* or songs and its Classical Sanskrit frame-work was but in the line of a literary tradition which had developed in Eastern India, and then it was easy to render the *gītas* or songs into good Sanskrit, with Apabhraṁśa traits lingering in one or two lines and the more regular and more mellifluous Apabhraṁśa lilt modified to the several rhythm of Sanskrit.

We do not know if apart from the *Gītagovinda*—its Sanskrit verses and its songs both—Jayadeva wrote any other long work; but single verses attributed to him occur in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* which, as noted before, show him to be a writer in the heroic sentiment as well. Probably he had one or more other Sanskrit poems to his credit, from which these verses were taken; probably he wrote these verses as *vers d'occasion*. But the tradition of the Bhakti Schools in Northern India knew of one or more Jayadevas with old Bhāsā lyrics to his credit; and according to the current opinion, these Bhāṣā poems were written by the author of the *Gītagovinda*, who became translated to the domain of saints and devotees of the Vaiṣṇava faith within a couple of centuries after his demise.

In the Panjab also Jayadeva obtained a place in the list of the great saints of India, and Guru Arjun, the fifth *guru* of the Sikhs who compiled the *Ādi-Granth* (*Granth Sāhib*), has included in the *Granth* two poems one in Apabhraṃśa and Sanskrit mixed and the other in Old Bhāṣā which have the 'signature' of Jayadeva in the last verse. There is no absolute certainty whether the author (or authors?) of these two poems and Jayadeva of the *Gītagovinda* are the same person. The Sikh tradition makes them the same. (For the Sikh tradition which is that of the *Bhakta-māla*, see M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford 1909, Volume VI).

The *Ādi-Granth* is a sort of medieval *Ṛgveda* in which the mass of devotional hymns current in the Panjab and North Indian plains from the different medieval saints and devotees from the 12th century to the end of the 16th are collected—so far as the compiler knew or found them or approved of them. The oldest of these saints were Jayadeva from Bengal (12th century), Nāmadeva from Mahārāṣtra (13th century) and Rāmānanda from Eastern Hindustan (14th century); and Kabīr (15th century) is best represented of all the *sants* and *bhagats* outside of the Sikh circle, who are 16 in number in the *Granth*.

The two poems of Jayadeva in the *Granth Sāhib* come under *Rāga Gujarī* and *Rāga Mārū*. They have been both translated by Macauliffe (op. cit., pp. 15-17). They run as follows.

(1) *Srī Jaidewajīū-kā Padā* (*Rāga Gujarī*)
Paramādi purukha manopimaṁ sati ādi bhāwa-rataṁ |
Paramadbhutaṁ parakritiparaṁ jadi cinti saraba-gataṁ || 1 ||
Rahāū–
Kewala Rāma-nāma manoramaṁ badi amrita-tata-maïaṁ |
na danoti jasamaraṇena janama-jarādhi-maraṇa-bhaïaṁ ||
ichasi Jamādi-parābhawaṁ jasu swāsti sukriti-kritaṁ |
bhawa-bhūta-bhāwa samabyiaṁ paramaṁ prasannamidaṁ || 2 ||
lobhādi-drisaṭi paragrihaṁ jadi bidhi ācaraṇaṁ |
taji sakala duhakrita duramatī bhaju Cakradhara-saraṇam || 3 ||
Hari-bhagata nija niha kewalā rida karamaṇā bacasā |
jogena kim jāgena kiṁ dānena kiṁ tapasā || 4 ||
Gobinda Gobindeti japi nara sakala-sidhi-padaṁ |
Jaidewa āiu tasa saphuṭaṁ bhawa-bhūta-saraba-gataṁ || 5 ||

The above was also translated into German and commented upon by E. Trumpp in the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historichen Classe den Königliche bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich 1879, in his "Die ältesten Hinduī-Gedichte" pp. 8-16. The poem is in Sanskrit corrupted by scribes who read it in a vernacular Estern Indian pronunciation, with a number of Apabhraṁśa and vernacular forms: to start with, it may have been wholly in Apabhraṁśa, and then badly Sanskritised, with a vernacular Bengali or Eastern Indian pronunciation showing through the spelling, which was further modified in the Gurumukhī script in the *Granth*. A Sanskrit *chāyā* is given below:

Paramâdi-puruṣam anupamaṁ *sadādi-bhāvaratam* |
Paramâdbhutaṁ prakṛti-paraṁ *yam acintyaṁ sarva-gatam* ‖ 1 ‖
Rahāū (= Refrain)
Kevalaṁ Rāma-nāma manoramaṁ vada amṛta-tattva-mayam |
na dunoti yat-smaraṇena janma-jarâdhi-maraṇa-bhayam ‖
icchasi Yamâdi-parābhavaṁ yaśaḥ svasti, sukṛta-kṛtam (=*sukṛtaṁ Kuru?*) |
bhava-bhūta-bhāva samavyayaṁ paramaṁ prasannam idam
(*or mida=midu* or *mudu=mṛdu ? -Trumpp*) ‖ 2 ‖
lobhâdi-dṛṣṭi-paragṛhaṁ yad avidhi-ācaraṇam |
tyaja sakala-duṣkṛtaṁ durmatiṁ bhaja Cakradhara-śaraṇam ‖ 3 ‖
Hari-bhaktiḥ nija niṣkevalā—hṛdā karmaṇā vacasā |
yogena kiṁ, yajñena kiṁ, dānena kiṁ [*kiṁ*] *tapasā* ‖ 4 ‖
Govinda, Govindêti japa, nara, sakala-siddhi-padam |
Jayadeva āyātaḥ tasya sphuṭaṁ, bhavabhūta-sarva-gatam ‖ 5 ‖

There is no difficulty in following the sense of the above and the entire poem though not lacking in coherence of thought certainly lacks coherence in language—which may be due to the Apabhraṁśa or Old Bengali original struggling with the thoughts. An English translation is not necessary: quite of good translation will be found in Macauliffe's work, Vol. VI, pp. 15-16.

(ii) *Bāṇī Jaidewjīū-kī* (*Rāga Mārū*)
Canda sata bhediyā nāda sata pūriyā
sūra sata khoḍasā dattu kīyā |
abala bala toḍiyā, acala cala thappiyā,
aghaḍa ghaḍiyā tahā āpiu pīyā ‖

mana ādi guṇa ādi wakhāṇıyā
terī dubidhā dristi sammāniyā || Rahāū ||
ardha-kau aradhiyā sardhı-kau saradhıyā
salala-kau salali sammāni āyā |
badati Jaıdewa Jaidewa-kau rammiyā,
Brahma-nirbāṇa liwa līna pāyā || 2 ||

The above is more clearly in Bhāṣā rather than the Apabhraṁśa stage as regards language, and its original may have been Old Bengali. Here, too, we find the orthography of the Sanskrit words indicating an Eastern Indian pronunciation. This poem has not been noted by Trumpp in his article of 1879 noted above : Macauliffe gives a translation following the Sikh tradition (pp. 16-17 of his Sixth Volume), and below I attempt one, basing on Macauliffe and on Bisan Singh Gyānī's Panjabi explanation in his *Bhagat-Wāṇī* :

[1] pierced (*bhediyā*) with breath (*sata* = *sattva* = *prāṇa*) the moon (*canda* = *candra* = *Iḍā*, the left nostril ; *i e.*, I performed the *pūraka* movement in breath-control in Yoga) ; [I] filled (*pūrıyā*) with breath the *nāda* (the *susumnā*, the space between the two nostrils at the top of the nose : *i. e.*, I performed the *kumbhaka*) ; [I] gave up (*dattu kīyā*) the breath by the sun (*sūra* = *pingalā*, the right nostrıl : *i. e.*, I performed the *recaka* movement)—sixteen times (*khoḍasā* = *ṣoḍaśa* : *i. e.*, in repeating the *praṇava* or *Oṁ-kāra* sixteen times in each of the process of taking in, holding and ejecting the breath in performing *prāṇāyāma*.)

Without strength (*abala*) [its] strength broken (*toḍiyā* : *i. e.*, the strength of the earthly frame has been broken, and it has been made weak physically) ; in the unmoving or fixed (*acala*), [my] unfixed or moving or unstable (*cala*) [mind or breath] has been established (*thappiyā*) ; the unfashioned [mind] (*aghada*) has been fashioned (*ghaḍıyā*) ; then or there (*tahā*) nectar (*āpiu*, *apiu* = *amṛta*, according to traditional explanation : *amṛta* = **ambrita* = **ambia*, **ambiu*, **abbiu*, **appiu* = *āpiu*, *apiu* ?) has been drunk [by me] (*pīyā*).

[I have] described [Him Who is] the beginning of the mind (or soul) and of the [three] qualities (*guṇa—sattva, rajas, tamas*). Thy twofold sight (*i. e.*, the idea that thou and I are distinct) has been lost

(*sammāniyā* : Panjabi explanation—*samā jāndī hai* - 'enters'). With reference to the adorable one(s) (*ardha* = *ārādhya*), adoration has been made (*aradhiyā* = *ārādhita-*) ; with reference to that (those) which is (are) to be trusted or believed in (*sardhi* = *śraddhin*) trust has been given (*saradhiyā* = *śraddhita-*) ; as for the water (*salala* = *salila*), it has become blended (*sammāniyā*) in the water.

Jayadeva says (*badati* = *vadati*) · [I] have taken joy (*rammiyā*) in the God who triumphs (*Jaya-deva*) ; receiving (*liwa*) absorption (*nirbāṇa* = *nirvāṇa*) in Brahaman, [I] have received (*pāyā*) final absorption (*līṇa* = *līna*).

The above *Vāṇī* or vernacular poem of Jayadeva is in the usual line of religious and devotional poetry of Yoga inspiration which characterised all Indian schools of thought from the middle of the first millennium A. D. onwards, and it was particularly strong in the centuries immediately preceding and following c. 1000 A. D Their ring is that of the Old Bengali *caryāpadas* of later *Mahāyāna Sahajiyā* (*Sahaja-yāna*) Buddhist inspiration on the one hand, which were partly contemporaneous with Jayadeva of the *Gītagovinda* and also of the mystic poems of Kabīr and other early *Sants* who were *bhagats* (*bhaktas*) or devotees of *Bhakti* school in their main affiliation but were at the same time practisers of *Yoga.*

The second poem of " Jayadeva " in *Ādi-Granth* may also very well be by Jayadeva of the *Gītagovinda* himself, and this would make him one of the first poets in Bhāṣā, as much as in Sanskrit (and probably also Apabhraṁśa).

Apart from the great and wide-spread influence exerted on the later Bhāṣā literature in general all over Aryan India, Jayadeva is certainly to be regarded as one of the founders and inspirers of Bengali literature in particular. He was a young contemporary of the Buddhist *caryā* poets: and his songs in the *Gītagovinda*, called *gītas* in the poem but known otherwise as *padas* (cf. the first poem in the *Ādi-Granth*, ascribed to him which is described as a *pada*, and cf. his own use of the term in the expression *padāvalī* in *madhura-komala-kānta-padāvalīṁ śruṇu tadā Jayadeva-sarasvatīm, Gītagovinda*. I, 3), stand at the head of Bengali literature as much as do the Buddhist *caryāpadas* (950-1200 A.D.). Med-

ieval Bengali literature presents two distinct *genres* or types: narrative poems describing the story or legend of some God or great character which were known as *mangalas* (these *maṅgalas* dealt with Puranic deities and deified heroes like *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa* or *Caṇḍī* or *Rāmacandra*, or with local Bengali divinities and heroes like Dharma-deva and Lāu Sena, Manasā and the merchant Cānda and his son Lakhindara and the latter's wife Bihulā, the merchant Dhanapati and his son Śrīmanta and their adventures, the huntsman Kālaketu and his wife Phullarā), and lyrics, purely devotional or partly devotional and partly erotic, which were called *padas* (the *pada* literature of Vaiṣṇava origin forming the most important and the most distinctive part of Middle Bengali literature). Jayadeva's *padāvalī* as in the *Gītagovinda* stands at the head of the *pada* literature of Middle Bengali, perhaps to a great extent than do the *Caryāpadas* of the Buddhists. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Middle Bengali—nay, even to a large extent Modern Bengali—lyrics of Vaiṣṇava inspiration are based on the songs of the *Gītagovinda.* The Jayadeva's narrative account of the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, although in Classical Sanskrit, is to be looked upon as the oldest *maṅgala-kāvya* of Bengal which is still extant: Jayadeva's single work combines the characteristics of the two *genres*, for it not only includes his *padas*—gives his *padāvalī* of 24 songs—but also *is* a *maṅgala-kāvya* on Jayadeva's own showing: he describes as such in I, 25 (Song 2: *Śrī-Jayadeva-Kaver idaṁ kurute mudaṁ maṅgalam ujjvala-gīti* ' this *maṅgala*, *i. e.*, *maṅgala-kāvya* dealing with the auspicious story of Krsṇa and Rādhā, with its songs of the *ujjvala-rasa* or the sentiment of love, composed by Śrī-Jayadeva the poet, brings joy'). So the prominence of Jayadeva in his own part of India as the finished poet in both narration and lyrical composition can be well understood. Although no actual authentic specimens of his Apabhraṁśa and Old Bengali compositions are available—barring the two poems in the *Ādi-Granth* which are to some extent problematical; and barring also the possibility of the songs in the *Gītagovinda* being originally in Apabhraṁśa or Old Bengali, he can with justice be hailed the Ādi-Kavi, the first finished poet of Bengali, as he is the last of classic, pre.-Mohammadan India. And considering his pan-Indian influence in the fields of both Sanskrit and Bhāṣā literature and his exalted place in the literature of medieval Vaiṣṇavism the encomium paid by Nābhājī dās,

the author of the *Bhakta-māla*, in the 16th century, in his early Braj-bhākhā lines, is quite justified :

> *Jayadewa kawi nrpa-cakkawai, khaṇḍa-maṇḍaleśwara āni kawi :*
> *pracura bhayo tihuṁ* (तिहुं) *loka Gītagovinda ujāgara.*
> *koka-kābya-nawarasa-sarasa-sr̥ngāra-ko āgara.*
> *aṣṭapadī abhyāsa karai, tihi buddhi baṛhāwai* (= वढ़ावइ).
> *Rādhā-ramana prasanna sunata hā* (हाँ) *niścai āwai.*
> *santa-saroruha-khaṇḍa-ko Padamāwati-sukh janaka rawi :*
> *Jayadewa Kawi nrpa-cakkawai, khaṇḍa-maṇḍaleśwara āni kawi.*

The poet Jayadeva is the emperor among poets, while other poets are small states: (his) *Gītagovinda* has become shining exceedingly in the three worlds. It is the repository of Erotics, of Poetry, of the nine sentiments, and of the pleasant art of love. For him who studies (sings) his eight-versed songs, his wisdom is increased. The Lover of Rādhā is pleased while hearing them, and certainly comes there (where these songs are sung). Jayadeva is the Sun bringing happiness to the Lotus Lady (Padmāvatī), the Sun for the mass of lotuses who are the saints. The poet Jayadeva is the Emperor among poets, while other poets are rulers of small states.

ON SOME NEW PHONOLOGICAL TENDENCIES IN NEW INDO-ARYAN

DR. S. M. KATRE, M.A., PH.D ,
Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona (India)

In his lectures on Indo-Aryan[1] delivered at Ahmedabad, Dr. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI has laid stress on the importance of the *semi-tatsama* element in Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) to which sufficient attention does not seem to have been paid. This problem is even more pressing in the case of New Indo-Aryan (NIA) for here, for the first time, we have not only to deal with the inherited IA and foreign vocables, but also learned borrowings or loan-words from OIA and foreign (that is, non-Aryan and non-Indo-Aryan) languages, as contrasted with the pure inherited forms of MIA (divided into *tatsamas* and *tadbhavas*).

It is customary to divide the vocabulary of IA in any of its stages as (a) inherited and (b) borrowed. In the case of MIA these two categories are further classified into three, known as *tatsamas* (as in MIA *karei* < OIA *kárati*, or MIA *caraṇa*-< OIA *caraṇa*-, etc.), *tadbhavas* (as in MIA *lagga*-< OIA *lagná*-, MIA *cakkavāa*- < OIA *cakravāka*- etc.), and deśī. The first two come under 'inherited' vocabulary and the third or last comes under the ' borrowed ' class of vocables. It has been found that a fourth class is quite prominent in MIA such as *paduma*-(OIA *padma*-), *rayaṇa*-(< *ratna*), *araha*-(OIA *arh*-), etc. These vocables have been classed as *semi-tatsamas*, and as such come under the main category of ' inherited ' vocables ; but they differ from the pure *tatsamas* in their phonological correspondences, which lie half-way between pure *tatsamas* and pure *tadbhavas*. In fact a new term *semi-tadbhava* would probably explain their nature equally well, for while retaining the general features of the OIA form, the phonological development is governed by the general nature of the sound complex in OIA. Such a development is, in a majority of cases, *svarabhakti* or Anap-

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[1] *Indo-Aryan and Hindi* (Ahmedabad 1942), pp 91, 127

tyxis, which first simplifies the consonant nexus of OIA and then converges with the general simple forms of OIA; thus OIA *ratna-* must be assumed to have been Primitive MIA **ratana-* (actually attested in Pāli): *ˈradana-* and *ra(y)aṇa-* For a similar development within OIA itself we have to refer to such forms as *purusa-, pūrusa-, purūṣa* which all go back to a Primitive OIA *ˈpūrṣa-* (**purṣa-* also) whence by normal development Pāli has *posa-*[2].

The problem before us is how far such *semi-tatsamas* in NIA show the special phonological development taking place in NIA. The general lines of development within IA are quite clear: in MIA loss of vocalic *ṛ* and *ḷ*, (ऌ) and the diphthongs *ai, au;* loss of final consonants; loss of the dual, simplification of morphology; assimilation of consonant clusters, reduction of three sibilants to two and ultimately to one; loss of occlusion through sonorisation and spirantisation of intervocalic single stops (other than cerebral); in NIA further simplification of geminated consonants with compensatory lengthening (except in Panjabi in the NW) or preservation of vowel length with loss of geminated consonants (in Sindhi), etc. Thus within NIA itself no changes are seen in the purely inherited vocables which indicate in general a sonorisation of intervocalic single stops, and NIA shows from its first appearance up to the present day the preservation of *-k-, -c-, -ṭ-, -t-* and *-p-* respectively derived from MIA *-kk-, -cc-, -ṭṭ-, -tt-,* and *-pp-*.

But curious facts may be gathered by an observation of the *semi-tatsama* element in NIA, and the object of the present short note is to draw attention to the usefulness of such an undertaking by citing a few examples, and to show the nature of linguistic evolution which is actually taking place, albeit slowly, under our very eyes. I have pointed out elsewhere[3] that in dialects of Koṅkaṇī there is a rare semi-tatsama word *āidāna* or *āidon* 'vessel' going back to OIA *āyatanam,* preserved only in Buddhist Sanskrit in later days. The word is attested even as early as the 16th century (quoted in Father Stephen's grammar) and it shows the voicing

[2] WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik* I, para 51; PISCHEL, *Gram. der Prakrit-Sprachen,* para 124; MICHELSON, *IF* 23 254; GEIGER, *Pāli Lit. u. Sprache* para 30

[3] *Formation of Koṅkaṇī,* para 278

of intervocalic *-t-* which had already ceased to be a linguistic force at the time when the NIA languages formed themselves The change is significantly in a *semi-tatsama*, not in a *tatsama* or a *tadbhava*. We may class it as a case of assimilation not holding good for the language as a whole Similarly Koṅkaṇī *ciguru, cigur* 'new sprout' < OIA *cikura-* shows a voicing of intervocalic *-k-*; here, of course, we may pose a secondary borrowing of Kannada *ciguru* (itself a loan in Kan. from the OIA form cited above) by the dialects of Koṅkaṇī.

Another case of curious assimilation is also indicated by dialects of Koṅkaṇī. I have pointed out already[4] that in the southern dialects of Koṅkaṇī the form *paḍlā* 'falls' corresponds to the northern dialectal *paṭṭā* (cf. Marathi *paḍto*, Hindi *paṛtā*, all without assimilation); on the other hand northern Koṅkaṇī *paḍlo* 'has fallen' (cf. Mar. *paḍlā* without assimilation), has already become southern dialectal *paḷḷo*. The isophones here intersect without yielding any positive dialectal tendencies; but nevertheless these changes typify the linguistic forces which are working sporadically within the whole area and may some day change the nature of NIA itself.

A consideration of these facts makes it imperative that a study of dialectology must be attempted early before the dialects themselves are submerged within the more important literary vernaculars without actually destroying the linguistic forces at work. A collection and systematic study of this material will be of immense importance to not only Indo-Aryan linguistics, but also to general linguistics. For a classification of this material *now* may at a later stage enable future linguisticians to verify the claims of linguistics to be classed as a 'science', although only as a social science.

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[4] *Formation of Konkaṇī*, para 186

THE SEMANTICS OF THE EXPRESSION
"DEVĀNĀṀPRIYA"

DR. V. RAGHAVAN, University of Madras.

This is not the first time that the expression "Devānāṁpriya" is discussed. It is well known that a Vārttika of Kātyāyana[1] concerns itself specially with it, that the word occurs thrice in Patañjali,[2] that Aśoka had it as a title, that Bāṇa uses it twice[3] and Śaṅkarācārya once,[4] and that later grammar and lexicon especially understood the word to mean definitely a fool. Keilhorn pointed out in a note in the JRAS, 1908, p 504, that the earliest work of Grammar in which this 'fool' meaning, —'Mūrkhārtha' had been fixed by adding the word 'Mūrkhe' itself to Kātyāyana's Vārttika, is the Prakriyā Kaumudī. Whether originally the expression meant respect or ridicule has been discussed by scholars, and recently, there has appeared an excellent review of the whole question in a Hindi article by Mr. Isvarachandra Sarma Maudgalya, in the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. 46, No. 2. The following conclusion is given by this writer: (1) According to Bhaṭṭojī, the word does not have a good meaning, but means 'Mūrkha'—a 'fool'; (2) according to Kielhorn, the word primarily has a good sense, but is ironically used; and that (3) according to himself (Mr. Sarma), it is possible that both the meanings are the primary senses of that expression (ibid, p. 142).[5] Is it possible for a word to have as its primary significances two exactly opposite meanings like these or is it more likely that by stages, the word originally meaning 'one dear to the gods' in a good sense (Praśaṁsā), developed a pejorative tendency and eventually came to mean a 'fool'?

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1 Under Pāṇini, VI, iii. 21

2 Under Pāṇini II, iv, 56; V, iii, 14 and VI, iii. 21

3 N. S. Press Edn. 1937—Harṣacarita, pp. 25, 239

4 Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya, I. 2. 8

5 Even as in the view of Abhayacandra who says in his Śākaṭāyana Prakriyā Saṅgraha: देवानां प्रियः मूर्खः पूज्यो वा ।

it with an *a* of a smaller size, as *karᵃśe*, etc. The *laghu-prayatna i, u* and *o* are quite unnoticed. In a living tongue this sort of sound of *a-i-u-o* has some sort of existence and is distinctly found, differing from a state of quite non-existence.

Let us now take two particular sets of words, viz., *árdhà* and *áḍàdhó*, *várṣà* and *váràsí*, possessing a *laghu-prayatna a* first. The syllables *áḍà-* and *várà-* in *áḍàdhó* and *váràsí* are differing in pronunciation from the syllables *ár-* and *vár-* in *árdhà* and *várṣà* respectively. According to Prof Turner and others *áḍàdhó* and *váràsí* should be transliterated as *áḍdho* and *vársī*; they think that the pronunciation is exactly as *áḍdho* and *vársī*. The English accent-system would exactly satisfy their theory. But this is not the case with our Gujarati Accentuation. Mild nature of Gujarati pronunciation does not lay a strong stress in a preceding accented syllable, and hence we get a *laghu-prayatna* sound in a syllable following that accented one. Such is the case with the syllables possessing unaccented *i, u* and *o* alone (*i. e.*, without a consonant, following accented syllables, *viz., kóì, janóì, bā'ìḍí, bhā'ìḍó; gā'ù, kamā'ù, jā'ò, gā'ò*, etc., (In inter-vocalic state such *u* and *o* are generally pronounced as *và* with *laghuprayatna v* and *a*; means the same thing). It is a matter of satisfaction that Prof. Turner has at least marked a *dipthong oi* in words like *koil, koi*, etc. This is nothing but the *laghu-prayatna i* followed by an accented *o*. We find such *ì*, as well as *ù* followed not only by *o*, but also by *a, ā, i, u* and *e*; and *ò* only by *ā*, sometimes by *o*; as for example words like *gáì. tháì, bhā'ì, píì, léì, déì, súì*, etc. In the case of ending single *u* and *o* without consonants in a written language form, generally the pronunciation is a *laghu-prayatna v* with a *laghu-prayatna a*; as for example, gā'ù—gā'và, thā'ò—thāvà, etc. In written form, so also is the case of an ending *ya*; ex., gā'yà-gā'ì, etc., (where *y* is *laghu-prayatna*).

The principles are as follows .—

1. In a word a final *a* followed by a post-position or a termination beginning with a consonant or nothing, is *laghu-prayatna*; ex. *ghárà, ghárà-váṭà; jhíṇà-váṭà, júnà-váṭà; dúdhà, dúdhà-vā'ḻó; bā'pà, bāpà'-ḍó; pā'ṭà, pā'ṭàḍó, kárà, kárà-tó, kárà-śé, kárà-nā'rà*, etc.

Indo-Aryan stages, we are faced by another kind of Accent, which prominently forms a part in the development of Prakrit languages. This sort of Accent is nothing but a stress on a vowel in a particular syllable or syllables in each and every word distinctly. It is that kind of Accent which we call, at present, the *Stress Accent*. In a higher, middle or lower grade, as it may be, it is found in all the current languages and in their dialects derived from Old Indo-European Mother Languages through middle stages. The Modern Gujarati has inherited this *Stress Accent*. We should clearly confess that in Gujarati it is not so strong as it is in Modern English. Still-however it has its peculiar mode and is found distinctly in each and every Gujarati word, though in a mild form. Seeing this sort of mildness of this *Stress Accent*, we may be also mild to call it a *Soft Stress Accent*. Even a third kind of Accent is prevalent in Gujarati. It is found in a sentence, and varies according to the meaning of the sentence. It is just like a wave in the sea, and is technically *ārohātmaka* and *avarohātmaka*. We are not in a position to call it a *Pitch Accent* found in Vedic Saṁhitās. It is rather melodical, and it is safe to call it a *Melodical Accent*. In the main land of Gujarat it is some what mild, but in the Kathiawar Peninsula, it is found in a higher grade.

I try to lay down here the particular principles regarding the *Stress Accent* only. Owing to its mildness in Gujarati, if we are not particularly attentive, it is possible that we may err in denoting its real place in a word.

In asserting the *Stress Accent*, we are faced by two chief factors, *viz.*, 1. unaccented *laghu-prayatna a-i-u-o* and 2. accented syllables.

1. *Unaccented Laghu-prayatna a-i-u-o*

[The *laghu-prayatna a-i-u-o* are transliterated here as *à-è-ù-ò*.]

In Neo-Indo-Aryan Modern Languages and their dialects, a peculiar pronunciation of *a-i-u-o* is found. This sort of vowel-sound does not possess even half a mora. Metrically it has no separate existence in a syllable; with the preceding syllable it is always of a length of two moras, *i. e.* a *guru mātrā*. For this very reason, I think, Julus Bloch, Prof. R. L. Turner, Alfred Master, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. S. M. Katre and others, in transliterating the words with a *laghu-prayatna a*, do not note this sort of *a*. The

THE 'STRESS ACCENT' IN MODERN GUJARATI

PROF. KESHAVRAM K. SHASTREE
Sheth B. J. Institute of Learning and Research,
Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad

[Note—The system of spelling in Modern Gujarati, as it is generally in all other Neo-Indo-Aryan Modern Languages in India, is conventional and does not, rather cannot fully represent the natural current pronunciation. The short and long as well as closed and open vowel-sounds are not fully represented by the Alphabetical signs as they should be ; and hence it is not possible to draw any sort of phonetical principles from a written form of the language. It is only possible if we are aquainted with the tongue of the masses. In this small article it is my humble effort to draw some principles from the living Gujarati tongue. The spelling of the illustrious words, here accepted in transliteration, is strictly phonetical, and represents the living sounds.]

THE 'ACCENT' or *Svarāghāta,* generally known as *Svarabhāra* is well-known from ancient times. A kind of Accent known as *Pitch Accent* (in three stages, *viz., udātta, anudātta* and *svarita*) was prevalent in Vedic times. Its rules are laid down in Prātiśākhyas and in grammars ; and it is found

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[1] At the end of a word or in intermediate or initial syllables, all the vowel-sounds, excepting *ā,* are generally pronounced short in the Gujarati tongue. *a* is always short, excepting when in the vocative case, if it is accented, it is *pluta.* Such is the case with *i* and *u,* which are also *pluta* in the same manner ; but one thing more in their case : at the end of a word, when they are followed by particles *jà* and *yà,* are pronounced longer, if accented. *e* and *o,* each of which have different four sounds, *viz*, short and long closed (*saṁvṛta*) and short and long open (*vivṛta*), are generally short ; besides they are long and *pluta,* as the case may be, like *i* and *u.* But one thing more in their case in intermediate and initial syllables *e* and *o* closed (*saṁvṛta*) and open (*vivṛta*) when followed by a syllable with a *laghu-prayatna* vowel-sound, are always short , otherwise the pronunciation is long.

पशावादीयमानेऽप्रियं भवति किमु बहुषु। तस्मादेषां (*i. e.* देवानां) तन्न प्रियं यदेतन्मनुष्या विद्युः ॥

× × ×

Śaṅkara-bhāṣya :

स्वपशून् स्वशरीराणीव च रक्षन्ति देवाः । × × ×

बहुपशुसमतया एकैकस्य पुरुषस्य । × × ×

अथ यः कश्चिद् अब्रह्मविद् अन्यामात्मनो व्यतिरिक्तां यां कांचिद्देवतामुपास्ते स्तुतिनमस्कार-यागबल्युपहारप्रणिधानध्यानादिना उपास्ते, तस्या गुणभावमुपगम्याऽऽस्ते । × × × ×

यथा पशुः गवादिः वाहनदोहनाद्युपकारैः उपयुज्यते, एवं स इज्याद्यनेकोपकारैः उपभोक्तव्यत्वाद् एकैकेन देवादीनाम् । अतः पशुरिव कर्मस्वधिकृतः इत्यर्थः । × × ×

× × × × ×

एवं बहुपशुस्थानीयः एकैकोऽविद्वान् पुरुषो देवान् । × ×

तत्र लोकेषु बहुपशुमतो यथैकस्मिन्नेव पशावादीयमाने व्याघ्रादिना अपह्रियमाणे महदप्रियं भवति, तथा बहुपशुस्थानीय एकस्मिन् पुरुषे पशुभावाद् व्युत्तिष्ठति अप्रियं भवति । × × ×

तस्मादेषां देवानां तन्न प्रियं; किं तत् यदेतद् ब्रह्मात्मतत्त्वं कथञ्चन मनुष्या विद्युर्विजानीयुः ।

× × × ×

The use in the both above-quoted passages of the words *Devānāṁ* and *Priyaṁ* is very significant for our discussion.[14]

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[14] See, also the explanation in Jñānendrasarasvatī's Tattvabodhinī on the Sid. Kaūmudī, of how the Mūrkha-sense developed.

such as is not uncommon in the history of our culture. Compare for instance several re-definitions in the Yakṣapraśna in the Mahābhārata: स्नानं मनोमलत्यागः। शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः। दानं वै भूतरक्षणम्।

In this original and primary good sense, the word came to be enlarged to mean generally any person worthy of respect; and that such a usage was not restricted to either Brahminic or Buddhistic literature is shown by Bāṇa's use of the word first with reference to the Brāhmana Dadhīca (p. 25, Harṣacarita) and then with reference to King Harṣa, the speaker here being the Buddhist Divākaramitra (p. 239 ibid). Śaṅkara's gloss in the first instance is clear: देवानांप्रियस्येति पूजावचनम्। षष्ठ्या अलुक्।

III. Pejoration: The rise of the Brahmavādins and their Jñāna-mārga gave a condemnatory odour to this expression. They were also critics .of sacrifices, and the attitude with which the poor sacrificer looked up to the gods was indeed pathetic in their eyes. The gods, on their part, clung to the sacrificers for their feed, and, in their own interest, were intent on keeping them as their 'creatures', bound to the Karma-mārga. One man, one yājñika, would mean several Paśus to the gods, and if one is lost by his adoption of the Jñāna-mārga, the gods would feel the loss like that of numerous paśus. Thus, man, the sacrificer, is Paśu *par excellence* to the gods, and he would rest contented in this pitiable Paśu-state only as long as he is 'ignorant', not enlightened enough to see the Jñana-mārga. It is in the train of this thought that the sacrificing darling of the gods,—'Devānāṁpriya'—came to be held as a foolish person. Mr. Sarma has just drawn attention to a passage in the Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad which throws light on this trend of thought and I reproduce here that passage, Bṛh. Up. I. iv. 10, with Śāṅkara's comments so that the gradual pejoration of the sense of the word 'Devānāmpriya' could be fully appreciated:—

Br. Up..

अथ योऽन्यां देवतामुपास्तेऽन्योऽसावन्योऽहमस्मीति न स वेद, यथा पशुरेवꣳ स देवानाम्।
यथा ह वै बहवः पशवः मनुष्यं युञ्ज्युः, एवमेकैकः पुरुषो देवान् भुनक्ति। एकस्मिन्नेव

self in the position of a Paśu and thus called forth the admiration and affection of the gods.

have been used here ironically. Even words like Tatrabhavān and Āyuṣmān could be used ironically.

The following semantic stages can therefore be proposed in the history of the expression :

I. i. Praiseworthy sense : To begin with, the word 'Devānāṁpriya' had its primary and only sense as something praiseworthy. As the component words indicate, the expression referred complimentarily to the Yājñikas who gratified the gods with sacrifices. The Yājñikas thus came to be referred to as Devānāṁpriyāḥ.

ii. The primary significance has an extension to the means of such sacrificial propitiation, *viz.*, the Paśus or animals offered to the gods. These were also "dear to the gods." Hence do lexicons give chāga or goat as one of the meanings of this expression.[12]

II. Good meaning, but in a new application : The Buddhists held such sacrifices as Hiṁsā, and as advocates of Ahiṁsā and Dayā, said that they were the real "Devānāṁpriyas" ('those dear to the gods'), and not the Paśughātakas.[13] The expression undergoes a reinterpretation here,

[12] Kaiyaṭa would consider the word Deva itself as meaning Mūrkha, and Devānāṁpriya as therefore necessarily meaning a Mūrkha (On the Bhāṣya, under II, iv, 50). But no usage in literature of Deva in the sense of 'fool' as authority for such an interpretation has yet been found. In the Ajayakośa, Madras University Edn. p. 48, śl. 17, we find a line like this : देवो राज्ञि सुरे देवी महिषीमूकयोरपि । and in Keśavasvāmin's Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa, Triv. Skt. Ser., we find under Deva, the line नाट्यभाषास्वनृपतेः मद्यमूर्खयोः । Perhaps in both Ajaya and Keśavasvāmin, the last word is –मूर्खयोः । Some would start with the meaning 'goat', and extend its 'stupidity' to the sacrificer. As explained later, all the three, the sacrificer, the sacrificed animal and the gratified god, would become objects of disdain for the Brahmajñānin and come to mean eventually 'stupid'.

[13] Just as the Social reformers today would say, as against the Sanātanists that they the reformists are the real 'Sanātanists'.

If as has been already noted, the sacrificial animal could come to be called a Devānāṁpriya, we can also explain that a Buddhist who in his infinite pity, like Jīmūtavāhana, would offer or sacrifice himself for anothers' sake, put him-

aluk, which shows that these are cases of Saṣṭhī-aluk to which the condition of Ākrośa does not apply. If these words also, Vācoyukti and the rest, are to come under the rule of Ākrośa, the order of Sūtras in Bhoja must be different, 'Putre vā' coming after the Sūtras referring to Vacoyukti etc. The very fact that latterly grammarians added the word 'Mūrkhe' to the Vārttika shows that normally the Vārttika could not be taken as intending a bad meaning for Devānāṁpriya. And to clinch the later semantic development further, the Kaumudī added that in the case of good meaning, the expression must be 'Devapriya.'

What is the meaning in which Śaṅkara used the word? There is an impression for which there seems to be no evidence that the expression in his Bhāsya on I, 2, 8—इदं तावद् देवानांप्रियः प्रष्टव्यः is used by Śaṅkara against the Buddhist. The context does not require such an assumption; anybody could pose the objection mentioned there and all that the expression 'Devānāṁpriya' need mean here is "One that takes an easy view", a 'saralabuddhi'. Dharmakīrti used the expression in the same sense twice in his Vādanyāya, pp. 43 and 47: सुकुमारप्रज्ञो देवानांप्रियः न सहते प्रमाणचिन्ताव्यवहारक्लेशम् । विस्मरणशीलो देवानांप्रियः प्रकरणं न लक्षयति ॥ [10]

What is the sense in which Patañjali uses it? Taking the three cases of the incidence of this word in the Mahābhāsya: One is under VI, iii, 21, discussed above. Under V, iii, 14, the word is in the company of Bhavān, Āyuṣmān and Dīrghāyuḥ which occur in forms, Tatrabhavān etc. If the sense of this context is taken, one will have to think with Mm. Śivadatta,[11] and though we may not take 'Devānāṁpriya' as an exact synonym of Āyuṣmān etc., we may have to conclude that like Āyuṣmān, Bhavān and Dīrghāyuḥ, 'Devānāmpriya' was a customary idiom of reverential reference. Under II, iv, 56, in the well-known exchange between a grammarian and a charioteer, the latter, the learned man that he was, could hardly have used towards the former a word directly meaning 'Mūrkha'. At worst, a well-meant word can be taken, with Kielhorn, to

[10] Edn. by Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana in the JBORS. See, also Mr. Sarma's article, p. 141, who however is mistaken in mentioning Śāntarakṣita here instead of Dharmakīrti.

[11] See Mr. Sarma's article, p. 140.

By Pāṇini VI, iii, 21, षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे, the genitive case-ending does not drop in the process of compounding, if reproach is meant, as in the expression 'Corasyakulam', the counter-illustration being 'Brāhmana-kulam'. On this follow a few Vārttikas, adding that the Ṣaṣṭhī case-ending does not drop also in the cases of Vāk, Dik and Paśyat, when followed respectively by Yukti, Daṇḍa and Hara, in the cases of the words Āmuṣyāyaṇa and Āmuṣyaputrikā, *in the case of the expression 'Devānām-priya'*, in the case of Śunaḥ being followed by Śepha, Puccha and Lāṅgula, and in the case of the word Divodāsa. A consideration of all these words cognised by the Vārttikakāra in these dicta,—Vācoyukti meaning skilled speech, Diśodaṇḍa, as Monier Williams says in his Dictionary, a phenomenon of the sky, Paśyatohara, a goldsmith, the forms Āmuṣyāyaṇa etc., and the Saṁjñās or names, Śunaś-śepha etc. and Divodāsa, clearly show that the Anuvṛtti of Pāṇini in these Vārttikas is only of Ṣaṣṭhī-aluk and not also of the condition, Ākrośa; that is, these Vārttikas appear as rules of exception, pointing to non-dropping of Ṣaṣṭhī-ending in cases of non-reproachful meaning.[6] The analysis of textual authorities has clearly shown that the reading of the Vārttika on the debated expression with the word 'Mūrkha'—"Devānāṁpriya iti ca Murkhe" is of late date. Patañjali does not read it so.[7] That the Vārttika did not have the word "Mūrkhe" in it and that the Vārttikas under 'Ṣaṣṭhyā Ākrośe' have to be understood as exceptions applying to cases of Ṣaṣṭhī-aluk in non-Ākrośa cases can also be seen from Bhoja's grammar, the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhā-bharaṇa[8] and from Hemacandra's Grammar, the Siddha-Hemacandra[9] which follows Bhoja's work. Bhoja brings together the Sūtra "Ṣaṣṭhyā Ākrośe" and the next giving Vikalpa in "Dāsyāḥputra",—both cases of Ākrośa, but differing in the Aluk being compulsory and optional,—and gives all the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana as Sūtras in one series providing Ṣaṣṭhī-

[6] This was also the view of Mm. Śivadatta, as has been pointed out by Mr. Sarma in his Hindi article, pp. 137-8.

[7] Dharmakīrti also does not read it so. See Rangacharya's edition, pp. 205-6

[8] Madras University Edn. VI, ii, 23 ff

[9] Ahmedabad, 1931. Sūtras III, ii, 30-35. But Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi would give the word among synonyms of Mūrkha.

Exception—If a post-position itself is a single consonant with a *laghu-prayatna a*, then the preceding *a* at the end of a word is always accented and *pūrṇa-prayatna ;* ex., moṭá-mà, moṭá-pà, hiṇá-pà, kaḍá-pà, ramá-tà, nā'ná-mà, uṇá-pà, etc. The particles *jà* and *yà* when follow words, the preceding *a* at the end of a word, becomes accented and *pūrṇa-prayatna*, while ending short *i* and *u* (*e* and *o* also) are pronounced long ; ex. *Rā'mà*, but *Rā'má-jà*, *Rā'má-yà ;* so also *Harí*, but *Harī'-jà*, *Harī'-yà*, etc.

2. In a non-compound word with three syllables, when at the end there is no *laghu-prayatna a*, or *i* and *u* (without consonants), then the *a* in a penultimate syllable, is *laghu-prayatna* , ex. *mā'nàkhó*, *káràmó*, *chā'pàrí*, *ā'pàṇó*, *káṇàbí*, *cópàḍí*, *bélàḍí*, etc.

Exception—If such words ending in *i* are followed by a post-position or a termination with an initial vowel, then the penultimate *a* becomes accented and *pūrṇa-prayatna*, and the final accented vowel (as well as the vowel excepting *ā* in the initial syllable) loses its accent ; ex. copádì-yó, bibádì-yó, etc.

3. (a) In a non-compound word with four syllables, if a *laghu-prayatna a* and single *i* and *u* are at the end, and a pre-penultimate syllable possesses *a*, then that pre-penultimate *a* is *laghu-prayatna ;* ex. *Gújàrā'tà*, *sáràṇā'ì*, *áḍàbā'ù*, *cáḻà-váḻà*, etc.

(b) In such words if there is no *laghu-prayatna a* as well as single *i* and *u* at the end, and there is a penultimate *a*, then that penultimate *a* is *laghu-prayatna* ; ex. *upáràṇó*, *ugámàṇí*, *ṭhamákàló*, etc.

4. In compound words, each and every word of a compound is to be considered independent, and then following the above principles, the *laghu-prayatna a* is to be seen ; ex. *táḻà-padí*, *bā'ḥrà-vaṭìyò*, *cā'rà-gaṇò*, *jívà-rakhí*, etc.

Note—But in some words the original sense of compounds is lost, then it follows the above principles in 1 to 3 ; ex. *ángáràkhó*, *pagáràkhí*, *bámàṇó*, *trámàṇó*, etc.

5. The ending *i* and *u* alone (*i. e.* without a consonant), and *o* in written form (but found as *và* in pronunciation) when preceded by an accented vowel are always *laghu-prayatna ;* ex. *kòi, bhā'ì ; gā'ù, kamā'ù, thā'ò, jā'ò,* etc.

6. The penultimate *i* when followed by any accented vowel and pronounced generally as *iy* with a *laghu-prayatna y,* then that *i* is always *laghu-prayatna* ; ex., *rúpìyó, káḍìyó,* etc.

Note—Following the natural tongue, it will be quite clear that *rúpìyó, káḍìyó etc.,* have only three moras, and not five as are now generally considered in a metre. Unfortunately we have inherited only Sanskrit and Prakrit metres in which there is no capacity of preserving a natural tongue, excepting deśī-bandhas, where there is some chance.

2. *Accented Syllables*

As soon as the place of *laghu-prayatna a-i-u-o* is settled, it is very easy to see the accented syllables in a word, as those *laghu-prayatna a-i-u-o* are always preceded by an accented syllable.

Let us now derive the principles :—

1. A vowel in a word with a single syllable is always accented ; ex. *śó, é, té, jé, ké, jó, ló, kóḥ, róḥ, jú, chú, gú,* etc.

Note—In a written form an aspirated vowel is written with *h* separately, as *vahālo, nahera, vahāṇa,* etc.; these are *vā'ḥló, néḥrà, vā'ḥṇà,* etc. This sort of *h* or aspirated sound has no distinct separate place in the living tongue, only the vowel-sound is aspirated, and hence *kéḥ, réḥ, kóḥ, róḥ, véḥ,* etc. with a pronunciation measuring one mora only.

Exception—The particles *yà* and *jà* are always with a *laghu-prayatna a,* and hence unaccented, dependent to the ending vowel of the preceding word.

2. In the words with two or more syllables, a vowel followed by conjuct consonants, is always accented ; ex., *ácchó, kácchó, láṭṭhó, áddhárà, sáddhárà, ácchérà, mácchárà, páṭṭhárà,* etc.

Exception—If in compounds a second member is a *laghu-prayatna y* following an accented vowel and the preceding syllables have vowels other than *ā e* or *o*, then those vowels remain unaccented ; ex , *karyó, mukyó, disyó*, etc. ; but *mā'ryó, cā'lyó, thō'bhyó*, etc.

3. In words with two syllables, if the last syllable is with a *laghu-prayatna a* (*a* with a *laghu-prayatna y* also, as in *rā'tyà* etc.,), as well as with single *i, u* or *o* (without a consonant), then the preceding syllable is always accented ; ex., *vā'tà, rā'tyà, gátyà, bhúlyà, cúlyà*, etc., and *kúì, róì, gā'ù, kamā'ù, jā'ò, thā'ò*, etc.

4. In words with two syllables, if the last syllable possesses vowels other than those *laghu-prayatna* ones, and the preceding syllable is with *ā, e* or *o*, then the primary accent is on the first syllable and the secondary on the second or last syllable ; ex., *vā'ḍó, sā'ró, tē'né, jē'ṇé, mē'ḻó, ghō'dó, bō'lí*, etc. ; if the first syllable possesses vowel other than *ā, e* or *o*, than there is only one accent, and it is on the last syllable ; ex., *jité, jivé, sudhí, lagí, karí, vasí, vasé, juvé* (*jué*), *juvó* (*juó*), etc.

5. In words with three syllables, the primary accent is generally on the first syllable, and the secondary on the last one ; ex ; kútàró, díkàró, chókàrí, etc., but if the word ends in a *laghu-prayatna a, i, u* or *o*, then the secondary accent is on the second syllable ; ex., *mā'ṇásà, phā'násā, bā'ghā'ì*, etc.

Exception—If the middle syllable possesses *ā*, then any vowel in the first syllable excepting *ā* is always anaccented ; ex., *dilā'só, bilā'ḍó, gadhē'dó, kinā'ró, bolā'vó, bolā'và, dekhā'ḍà*, etc.

In the words with four or more syllables the chief factor to get an accented vowel is an inter-vocalic *laghu-prayatna a* in all cases (*i, u*, and *o* at the end generally, *i* before a *laghu-prayatna y* also). In compound words each and every word is to be considered separately, where the chief factor is also that *laghu-prayatna a*, etc.

There may be more than two, three or more syllables accented, then those accented syllables are primary, secondary etc., as the order may be.

Lastly one thing is to be noted: the *Stress Accent* varies in different parts of Gujarat in local dialects. It is not possible here to deal with those varieties in this small article. The above-mentioned principles are derived from the standard current Gujarati. Again I have not gone in details here. I have dealt with this subject in the book titled 'Gujarati Bhāṣā-no Udgama' at length, which is in the press. I think, the principles laid down here will be useful also in asserting the *Stress Accent* in sister Neo-Indo-Aryan Modern languages. इति शम् ॥

HETVĀBHĀSADAŚAKAM BY A PRINCE OF KOṬILIṄGAPURA

V. VARADACHARI, M. A., Diploma in French and German,
Lecturer in Sanskrit, Loyola College, Madras

Fallacies or fallacious reasons (hetvābhāsa) are not treated as reasons because they do not satisfy the definition of reason.[1] They have some characteristics in common with reasons and appear like reasons.[2] Fallacies may also rise with reference to the subject (paksa) and probandum (sādhya) but they are all brought under vulnerable points (nigrahasthāna). Fallacious reasons are also included under vulnerable points but are treated separately because they directly prevent the rise of correct cognitions.[4] Vulnerable points however are intended to be used as means to defeat the opponent and to find out the errors in the opponent's propositions. The fallacies occupy in the *Nyāya-system*, a place more important than that of other vulnerable points because a sound knowledge of these fallacies is needed for those who are in quest of truth. Beginners of Indian Logic cannot easily understand the importance and difference between the various fallacies. The *Hetvābhāsadaśakam* published below serves a good and useful purpose in this direction as it contains good illustrations for the various fallacies in the form of stanzas that can be easily memorized.

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१. उदाहरणसाधर्म्यात्साध्यसाधनं हेतुः । — Nyāyasūtra I–I–34
तथा वैधर्म्यात् । — ,, I–I–35

२. हेतुलक्षणाभावादहेतवो हेतुसामान्याद्धेतुवदाभासमानाः ।
Nyāyabhāṣya on Nyāyasūtra I–2–4

३. हेत्वाभासाश्च यथोक्ताः । — Nyāyasūtra 5–2–24
हेत्वाभासाश्च निग्रहस्थानानि । किं पुनर्लक्षणान्तरयोगात् हेत्वाभासानिग्रहस्थानत्वमापन्नाः यथा प्रमाणानि प्रमेयत्वमित्यत आह—यथोक्ता इति । हेत्वाभासलक्षणेनैव निग्रहस्थानभाव इति ।
Nyāyabhāsya on sūtra 5–2–24

४. अनुमितिप्रतिबन्धकयथार्थज्ञानविषयत्वं हेत्वाभासत्वम् ।
Annambhaṭṭa's Tarkasaṅgrahadīpikā

The author of this *Hetvābhāsadaśakam* was a prince who lived in *Koṭiliṅgapuram* in Malabar Koṭiliṅgapuram is identified with *Cranganore*. It is also identified with *Kodungallur*.[1] The identity of the author cannot be established. Probably, he was a member of the royal families in Malabar. His date too cannot be definitely fixed though it may be said that he lived only recently about the beginning of the 19th century. The same prince appears to have written a commentary on the *Āśaucadīpakam*. Vide :—

प्रीत्यै सतां महिपमङ्गलनाम्नि गेहे
जातेन भूसुरवरेण पुराकृतं यत् ।
आशौचदीपकमिदं विवरीतुमद्य
श्रीकोटिलिंगनिलयो नृपतिः शर्मीहे ॥

No. 102, Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. Vol. I, Curator's Office, Trivandrum

The importance of this *Hetvābhāsadaśakam* consists in the artistic way in which the author illustrates the various fallacies. Instead of following the beaten track, he has chosen the conversation method by which he states the proposition, reason and example and finally points out the defect in the reason. These stanzas are the best illustrations in poetic form so far known for the fallacies. *Hetvābhāsadaśakam* consists of ten stanzas that illustrate the five fallacies. The three kinds of non-conclusive type of fallacy (anaikāntika) are illustrated in the first three stanzas, the contradictory type (viruddha) in the fourth, the counterbalanced type (satpratipaksa) in the fifth, the three kinds of unproved reason (asiddha) in the next three and in the last, and the sublated (bādhita) in the ninth.

Text of the *Hetvābhāsadaśakam*

Stanza 1:

त्वं रुष्टा मयि चेन्नमामि भवतीं, नेयं त्वया नम्यतां,
नम्यत्वं त्वयि भाति पार्थिवतया मन्ये महाराजवत्, ।
कुम्भादिष्वतिवर्तनात् त्वदुदितं साधारणं साधनं,
वाग्वादेष्विति निर्जितो दयितया रामः सुखं रातु वः ॥

1. The Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Curator's office, Trivendrum mentions *Kodungallur* as identical with *Koṭiliṅga-pura*. See Vol. I, No. 102, Editor's remarks.

Translation: 'If you are angry with me, I bow to you'. 'I am not to be bowed by you'. 'You are adorable as you are royal (earthly), I feel like a great king'. 'The probans put forward by you is common as it exists in pots and others'. Let Rāma, who was thus defeated by his beloved in conversation bring happiness to you.

Note: This stanza gives an account of the conversation that took place between Rāma and Sītā. Rāma tries to show that Sītā was fit to be bowed by him. He tells her that she was fit to be bowed because of her royal dignity as a great king is. This saying of Rāma can be put in the form of a proposition :—त्वं नम्या, पार्थिवत्वात् महाराजवत् । Here the word 'पार्थिवत्वात्' is used in the sense of 'because of royalty' and 'because of being earthly.' The second sense also suits the context because Sītā was born from the earth. Sītā points out that the probans *viz.*, because of being carthly in this proposition is defective due to its being common (sādhāraṇa). This probans exists in cases like jars and others in which the probandum (sādhya) does not exist. Vide :—साध्याभाववद्वृत्तिः साधारणः [Tarkasaṅgraha] Thus the fallacy illustrated here is common of the non-conclusive type (Sādhāraṇānaikāntika).

Stanza 2:

कृष्णः पुष्णातु सौख्यं, सुमुखि सुमुखतां याहि, याहि प्रियां ता-
मन्यासक्तं कुतो मां कलयसि दयिते, केवलं त्वत्स्वभावात् ।
यद्येवं मुग्धता ते करणमिदमसाधारणं पक्षमात्रे
वृत्तत्वादित्यकस्मात् प्रणयकलहितां राधिकां सान्त्वयन् वः ॥

Translation: Let Kṛṣṇa produce hapiness to you—who pacified Rādhā who all of a sudden picked up a love-quarrel with him thus :— 'You handsome lady! be agreeable?' 'Go to that ladylove'.

[1] The text given here is based on a paper manuscript of *Hetvābhāsadaśakam* in possession of my revered father Pandit V. Krishnamacharya. The existing manuscript libraries do not have, to my knowledge, a copy of this work. Hence the necessity for the publication of the text here.

'Beloved, how do you know me to be attached to another (woman)?' 'Merely from your disposition.' 'In that case, you are innocent, this reason is now-common as it exists only in the subject.'

Note: Rādhā tells Kṛṣṇa that he was attached to some other lady because that was his nature. This idea can be put in the form of a proposition :–कृष्णः अन्यासक्तः, तत्स्वभावात् ॥ Kṛṣṇa points out here that the probans 'because of his disposition' exists only in the subject Kṛṣṇa and does not exist in co-subjects (sapakṣa) and counter-subjects (vipakṣa). Therefore the fallacy non-common (asādhāraṇa) vitiates the probans. Vide: -सर्वसपक्षविपक्षव्यावृत्तः पक्षमात्रवृत्तिरसाधारणः । [Tarkasaṅgraha] Thus this stanza illustrates non-common of the non-conclusive type (asādhāraṇānaikāntika).

Stanza 3.

सर्वं वस्तु सुखावहं तव पुनः कौतस्कुतीयं व्यथा,
कस्मादेवमुदीर्यते, जगदिदं यत्तन्मयं भाषसे ।
हेतुस्सव्यभिचार एष विरहात् दृष्टान्तयोरित्ययं
संलापस्सह लक्ष्मणेन वियुजः सीतापतेः पातु वः ॥

Translation: Let the conversation of the love-lorn Rāma with Lakṣmana protect you :—'Every object brings happiness but for you wherefrom did this pain come about?' 'Why do you say like this?' 'Because you talk of this world to be her nature'. 'This reason is non-exclusive as it does not have the example of the affirmative and negative type.'

Note: Lakṣmana says to Rāma that everything in the world produces delight because he is identifying the world with Sītā. Rāma points out here the probans 'because of identifying the world with Sītā' is vitiated by the fallacy 'non-exclusive' (anupasaṁhārin) because the probans shall not be proved to be correct due to lack of examples of the affirmative and negative type. Everything is brought under the subject and hence the absence of examples of the affirmative and negative type. Lakṣmaṇa's saying can be put in the form of a proposition :—सर्वं सुखावहं, सीतामयत्वात् ।

Vide :—अन्वयव्यतिरेकदृष्टान्तरहितोऽनुपसंहारी । (Tarkasaṅgraha) Thus this stanza illustrates the non-exclusive non-conclusive fallacy. (anupasaṁhāryanaikāntika).

Stanza 4 :

भीतोऽहं विरही तुषारकिरणात् सोऽयं समुज्जृम्भते,
विज्ञातः कथमेष ते, मम यतस्तापं करोत्युच्चकैः ।
लिङ्गात् कोऽनुमिनोति साध्यविरहव्याप्तादियं मुग्धता
मा भैषीरिति पातु वो रघुपतिस्सौमित्रिणा सान्त्वितः ॥

Translation : Let Rāma who was thus consoled by Lakṣmaṇa protect you :—' I am love-lorn. I am afraid of the cool-rayed moon who is now rising '. ' How do you know him to be so ? ' ' Because he is tormenting me severely '. ' This is mere innocence. Who will infer from a probans that co-exists with the absence of probandum ? Do not be afraid '.

Note : Rāma tells Lakṣmaṇa that he was tormented severely by the cool-rayed moon. This saying shall be put in the form of an inferential proposition :–अयं तुषारकिरणः, तापकरत्वात् । Lakṣmaṇa points out that the probans ' tormenting ' shall co-exist only with the absence of probandum. Hence the fallacy contradictory (viruddha) is pointed out here by Lakṣmaṇa. Vide :–साध्याभावव्याप्तो विरुद्धः [Tarkasaṅgraha]

Stanza 5 :

का भीतिस्तव चन्द्रतो रघुपते, दोषाकरत्वादसा–
वासक्तः परपीडने पिशुनवन्नैवं, कुतः कथ्यते, ।
हेतुः सत्प्रतिपक्ष एष यदयं सद्वृत्ततां गाहते,
सोदर्येण निरस्तभीरिति सुखं पुष्णातु वो राघवः ॥

Translation : Let Rāma bring you happiness whose fear was removed by his brother thus :– ' Scion of Raghu's race ! why are you afraid of the moon ? ' Because he is the source of defects and he is intent in inflicting pain on others like a traitor '. ' This is not so '. ' Why do you say like this ? ' ' Because this reason is counterbalanced, because he is of good conduct (he is circular in shape).

Note: Rāma tells Lakṣmana that the moon is intent in inflicting pain on others because he is the source of defects like a traitor. Lakṣmana points out that the moon is not intent in inflicting pain on others because he is of good conduct. *

The word सद्वृत्तता means good conduct and circular in shape. Rāma's saying shall be put in the form of a proposition :— असौ परपीडने आसक्तः, दोषाकरत्वात् पिशुनवत्। Lakṣmaṇa's contention shall be put in the form of a proposition :—असौ परपीडनेऽनासक्तः, सद्वृत्तत्वात्। The probans in the first proposition is counter balanced by the probans 'because of good conduct' in the second proposition. The probans in the second proposition proves the absence of the probandum in the first proposition. Hence the fallacy arising here is the counterbalanced (satpratipakṣa).

Vide :—साध्याभावसाधकं हेत्वन्तरं यस्य स प्रतिपक्षः। [Tarkasaṅgraha]

Stanza 6:

मिथ्येयं विरहव्यथा तव मुदं दत्ते पुरोवर्तिनी
मायामैथिलकन्यका प्रियतमाभावेन सत्येव सा।
इत्युक्तः सहजेन सान्त्वनविधौ हेतोरमुष्याश्रया-
सिद्धत्वं प्रतिपादयन्नवतु वः श्रीजानकीवल्लभः॥

Translation: Let the consort of Sītā protect you—who pointed out the fallacy 'non-establishment of the base' for the reason which his brother put forward to console him thus :—"This pain of separation is false because the illusory image of Sītā is before you and delights you. She is endearing to you like the real Sītā".

Note: Lakṣmaṇa tells Rāma that the latter shall delight himself because the illusory image of Sītā stands before him. The idea in this line may be put in the form of a proposition:—मायामैथिली मोदकरी, प्रियतमत्वात् सत्यमैथिलीवत्। Rāma points out here that the subject cannot be proved to exist. Hence, the fallacy non-establishment of the base (āśrayāsiddhi) arises here. Vide :—आश्रयासिद्धिश्च पक्षे पक्षतावच्छेदकविरहः। [Tarkasaṅgraha-dīpikā-prakāśa of Nīlakaṇṭha]

* Here the word 'दोषाकर' means the source of defects and maker of night.

Stanza 7 :

चित्तं मे चित्तजन्मा विदलयति शरैः, स्वाश्रयं नाशयेत्कः,
स्थूलत्वाच्चेतसोऽसौ किमिव न कुरुते निर्विचारप्रवृत्तः ।
आहुश्चेतोऽणुमानं कथमिह भवति स्थूलता तत्स्वरूपा-
सिद्धोऽयं हेतुरेवं दशरथसुतयोः पातु संभाषितं वः ॥

Translation : Let this conversation between the sons of Daśaratha protect you :—'Cupid (mind-born) pierces my mind with his arrows'. ' Who will destroy his very support ? ' ' Why he can do it inconsideraly because mind is gross ? ' ' The mind is said to be atomic in size. How can it be gross ? Therefore this probans is not known to exist. "

Note : Rāma tells Lakṣmaṇa that cupid is piercing his mind which is gross. Lakṣmaṇa points out that mind is atomic and the probans ' being gross ' is not established. Rāma's saying may be put in the form of a proposition :—चित्तजन्मा चित्तं शरैः विदलयति, चेतसः स्थूलत्वात् Hence the fallacy non-establishment of existence (svarūpāsiddhi) arises here. Vide :—स्वरूपासिद्धिश्च पक्षे हेत्वभावः । [Tarkasaṅgraha-dīpika-prakāśa of Nīlakaṇṭha]

Stanza 8 :

वध्येतां शुकसारणौ, न हि तयोर्वध्यत्वमस्त्येव तत्
रक्षस्त्वाद्दशकन्धरादिवदयं हेतुस्सहोपाधिकैः ।
सद्रोहत्वमुपाधिरत्र सुगमः शेषस्त्वया चिन्त्यता-
मित्यादित्यसुतोक्तिखण्डनकरः श्रीराघवः पातु वः ॥

Translation : Let Rāma protect you who refuted the saying of Sugrīva thus :—' Let Śuka and Sāraṇa be killed '. ' They are not to be killed. ' ' They are to be killed because they are demons like Rāvaṇa and others '. ' This probans is not established being pervaded by the extraneous adjunct *viz.*, malice. This is very clear, the rest you may think for yourself '.

Note : Sugrīva suggested the killing of uka and Sāraṇa because they happened to be demons like Rāvaṇa and others. Rāma, however,

pointed out that a person is to be killed only when he is malicious. Malice exists in Rāvaṇa and others. Therefore, they are fit to be killed. It does not exist in Śuka and Sāraṇa. Therefore, they are not to be killed though they are demons. Malice is the extraneous adjunct (upādhi). It co-exists with 'fitness to be killed' (vadhyatva) as in the cases of Rāvaṇa and others. It does co-exist with the 'nature of a demon' (rakṣastva) as in the cases of Vibhīṣaṇa and others. Hence, the fallacy in the present case is non-establishment of being pervaded (vyāpyatvāsiddhi) Vide :—सोपाधिको व्याप्यत्वासिद्धिः । साध्यव्यापकत्वे सति साधनाव्यापकत्वमुपाधिः । | Tarkasaṅgraha]

Stanza 9 :

जय्यो राघव एव मानुषतया तद्भक्षिभिर्यातुभिः,
नैवं बाधित एव हेतुरुदितः प्रत्यक्षमानेन हि ।
क्व प्रत्यक्षमिदं, खरादिनिहताविल्यग्रजस्याग्रतो
दिश्यात्तन्मतभिद्विभीषणसमुद्गीतस्सुखं राघवः ॥

Translation : Let Rāma produce happiness—who was praised (whose praise was sung) by Vibhīṣaṇa who refuted the view (of Rāvaṇa) in front of (his) elder brother thus :—'Rāma can be conquered by the demons who destroy men because he is a man'. 'No, the reason put forward is sublated by perception'. 'Where is perception ?' ·'In the destruction of Khara and others'.

Note : Rāvaṇa tells Vibhīṣaṇa that Rāma being a man can be conquered. The latter refutes his brother's view by drawing his attention that the 'being a man' is sublated by perception and supports his statement by citing the destruction of Khara and others. Rāvaṇa's statement can be put in the form of a proposition :—राघवः जय्यः, मानुषत्वात् । Absence of the probandum is established by some other means of proof. Vide :—यस्य साध्याभावः प्रमाणान्तरेण निश्चितः स बाधितः । (Tarkasaṅgraha)

Stanza 10 :

अज्ञात्वा हृद्गतं ते कथमभिलषितं प्रार्थये भामिनि त्वां,
नन्वेतस्मात्कटाक्षादनुमिनु हृदये राग एवेति, चेन्न ।

हेतुस्सोपाधिकोऽयं भवति गुरुतरो ह्रीभरोऽस्मिन्नुपाधिः
साध्यव्यापी प्रियादौ स खलु रणमुखे साधनाऽव्यापकश्च ॥

Translation : 'O Passionate lady, I entreat you, how did you entertain this desire without knowing what passed in the heart ?' 'Can't you infer from this glance that love alone is in the heart ?' 'No, this probans is defective due to non-establishment of being pervaded the extraneous adjunct being excessive bashfulness in this case. It co-exists with the probandum as in the case of beloved and others but does not co-exist with the probans as in the case of the front of the battle.'

Note : This stanza gives an account of the conversation that took place between a hero and his beloved, probably between Rāma and Sītā. The lady tells her lord that her glance would show that love was springing in her heart. The hero, however, points out that the probans 'from the glance' is not established owing to the extraneous adjunct (upādhi) *viz.*, excessive bashfulness. Excessive bashfulness co-exists with love as in the case of the beloved and other things. It does not co-exist with the probans 'from the glance' as in the battlefield. Hence, the probans is vitiated by the fallacy non-establishment of being pervaded (vyāpyatvāsiddha). The proposition will be :—इयं रागिणी, सकटाक्षत्वात् ।

Stanza 11 :

कोटिलिंगपुरे वासी युवराजो महाकविः ।
हेत्वाभाससमुदाजह्रे दशश्लोकैः सतां मुदे ॥

Translation : The prince who is a great poet, living in *Koṭilingapura* has illustrated the *fallacious probans* (hetvābhāsa) by ten stanzas for the delight of the good.

ṬAṄKA AND DRAMIḌA

Vyākaraṇa-śiromaṇi PT. V. KRISHNAMACHARYA,
Adyar Library, Madras

It is an accepted fact that Bodhāyana was the upholder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine which has come down traditionally from the hoary past. Authoritative works like the Tattvaṭīkā show that he wrote a glossary called Kṛtakoṭi on the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṁsās and that he was identical with the Upavarṣa mentioned by 'Śabarasvāmin'[1] and others. We learn from the Śrī-Bhāṣya and Vedartha-Saṅgraha of Śrī-Rāmānuja that Ṭaṅka and Dramiḍa who came a number of years later gave fresh fillip to this doctrine.[2] Sudarśanācārya in his commentary, Tātparyadīpikā on the Vedārtha-Saṅgraha elucidates that Ṭaṅka was also known as Brahmanandin, vide the words 'टङ्को ब्रह्मनन्दी' in his commentary to the passage given in foot-note '1' above. Evidences exist to prove that this Brahmanandin is the author of the Vākya, an exposition on the Chāndogyopaniṣad, which answers for his other name,—Vākyakāra. Dramiḍācārya wrote a Bhāṣya on the Vākyas of Brahmanandin which procured for the former the title 'Bhāsyakāra' by which name Śrī-Rāmānuja and others mention him.[3] Such evidences are replete in the Śrī-Bhāṣya and Vedānta-Sāra

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१. "अत्र शाबरम्—"गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः? गकारौकारविसर्जनीया इति भगवानुपवर्षः" इति । वृत्तिकारस्य बोधायनस्यैव हि उपवर्ष इति स्वं नाम ।" Tattvaṭīkā, Page 930, Śrī-Bhāṣya with ten commentaries, edited by Pandit V. Anantacharaya and V. Krishnamacharya, Madras, Vol. II.

२. "भगवद्बोधायनकृतां विस्तीर्णां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं पूर्वाचार्याः संचिक्षिपुः ।" Page 78, Śrī-Bhāṣya with ten commentaries, Madras Vol. I.

"भगवद्बोधायनटङ्कद्रमिडगुहदेवकपर्दिभारुचिप्रभृत्यविगीतशिष्टपरिगृहीतोऽयं पन्थाः ।" Page 167, Vedārthasaṅgraha, Brindaban edition.

३. "तत्त्वमसीति सद्विद्यायामुपास्यं ब्रह्म सगुणं, सगुणब्रह्मप्राप्तिश्च फलमित्यभियुक्तैः पूर्वाचार्यैः व्याख्यातम् । यथोक्तं वाक्यकारेण—'युक्तं तद्गुणकोपासनात्' इति । व्याख्यातं च द्रमिडाचार्येण विद्याविकल्पं वदता—यद्यपि सच्चित्तो न निर्भुग्नदैवतं गुणगणं मनसानुधावेत्, तथापि अन्तर्गुणामेव देवतां भजत इति तत्रापि सगुणैव देवता प्राप्यते इति ।" Page 155, Vedārthasaṅgraha, Brindaban edition.

where Śrī-Rāmānuja cites the Vākyas of Brahmanandin and follows them up with relevant extracts from the Bhāṣya of Dramiḍācārya.

Śrī-Śankara refers to Dramiḍācārya as an Ācārya in his Bhāṣya on the third book of the Chāndogyopanisad, vide: 'अत्रोक्तः परिहार आचार्यैः ।' Ānandgiri in commenting on this passage reveals that the Ācārya referred to is Dramidācārya, vide:

"यद्यपि श्रुतिविरोधे स्मृतिरप्रमाणं, तथापि यथाकथंचित् विरोधपरिहारं द्रमिडाचार्योक्तमुपपादयति ।"

Thus it is clear that Dramiḍācārya was anterior to Śrī-Śaṅkara and was quoted as an authority by the latter and others and that Brahmanandin who preceded Dramiḍa himself was held in high esteem by all the Vedāntins, to whatever school he may belong.

While the Dramiḍa-bhāṣya like the Bodhayana-vartti treats of Viśiṣṭādvaita, pure and simple, the Vākya of Brahmanandin, though wholly Viśiṣṭādvaitic, is such that passages from it have been far from their context by the protogonists of other schools of Vedānta to support their respective doctrines. This is the view of Śrī-Yāmunācārya, vide:

"यद्यपि भगवता बादरायणेनेदमर्थान्येव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि विवृतानि च तानि परिमितगम्भीरभाषिणा भगवता भाष्यकृता । तथापि आहार्यटङ्कभर्तृप्रपञ्चभर्तृमित्रभर्तृहरिब्रह्मदत्तशङ्करश्रीवत्साङ्कभास्करादिविरचितसितासितविविधनिबन्धनश्रद्धाविप्रलुब्धबुद्धयो न यथावत् अन्यथा च प्रतिपद्यन्त इति युक्तः प्रयासः" Ātmasiddhi

The mention in chronological order of Bodhāyana, Ṭaṅka, Dramiḍa etc., in the Vedārtha-saṅgraha, (vide foot-note No. 2) shows that Ṭaṅka, the Vākyakāra was posterior to Bodhāyana. Further Śrī-Vedānta Deśika in his Tattvatīkā while commenting on the passage in the Śrī-Bhāṣya, *viz.*, 'भगवद्बोधायनकृतां विस्तीर्णां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं पूर्वाचार्याः संचिक्षिपुः' explains that the Pūrvācāryas referred to one Brahmanandin and others.

"तस्य च रूपस्यानित्यतादि वाक्यकारेणैव प्रतिषिद्धम्–'स्यात् तद्रूपं कृतकमनुग्रहार्थं तच्चेतनानामैश्वर्यात्' इति पूर्वपक्षं कृत्वा 'रूपं वातीन्द्रियमन्तःकरणप्रत्यक्षं तन्निर्देशात्' इति । भाष्यकारेण चैतत् व्याख्यातम्–'अञ्जसैव विश्वसृजो रूपम् । तत्तु न चक्षुषा ग्राह्यम् । मनसा त्वकलुषेण साधनान्तरवता गृह्यते ।" Sudarśanācārya comments thus :–द्रमिडाचार्यैः व्याख्यातमित्याह–भाष्यकारेणेति ।"

—Page 268, Vedārthasaṅgraha, Brindaban edition.

The following passages from the Saṁkṣepa-Śārīraka show that Brahmanandin was an Ātreya.

" आत्रेयवाक्यमपि संव्यवहारमात्रं कार्यं समस्तमिति नः कथयांबभूव ।
सत्कार्यवादविषयो न हि दोषराशिर्मायामये भवितुमुत्सहते विरोधात् ॥२१७॥
अन्तर्गुणा भगवती परदेवतेति प्रत्यग्गुणेति भगवानपि भाष्यकारः ।
आहस्य यत्तदिह निर्गुणवस्तुवादे संगच्छते न तु पुनः सगुणप्रवादे ॥ २२१॥ "

Some are of the opinion that the Dramiḍa-bhāṣya is a commentary on the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. This opinion may perhaps be due to the reference by Yāmunācārya in his Ātmasiddhi that Bhāṣyakara, *i. e.*, Dramiḍācārya elucidated the Brahma-sūtras, vide : " विवृतानि च तानि परिमितगम्भीरभाषिणा भाष्यकृता । " From this premise they follow up by classifying the Vākya of Brahmanandin as an exposition of the Brahma-sūtras by virtue of its being the text for the Dramiḍa-bhāṣya. In support of this view they hold up the following passage from the Śrī-Bhāṣya—ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं पूर्वाचार्याः संचिक्षिपुः । "

But this view is not in consonance with what Madhusūdana Sarasvatī says in his commentary to stanzas 217 and 221 of Saṅkṣepa-Śārīraka, vide :

" छान्दोग्यवाक्यकारेण ब्रह्मनन्दिनापि समाधानमुक्तम् । "

" ब्रह्मनन्दिविरचितवाक्यानां सूत्ररूपाणां भाष्यकर्ता द्रमिडाचार्योऽप्याह ॥ "

He definitely says here that Bhahmanandin wrote a commentary to Chāndogyopaniṣad which was in turn explained by Dramiḍācārya. Further Kumāra Vedāntācārya clearly says in his commentary on the Mīmāṁsā-Pādukā that Dramiḍa was the author of the Bhāṣya on the Vākya which was in turn an exposition of the Chāndogyopaniṣad, vide :

" नत्वा नुत्वैवमाह द्रमिडगुरुरपि ब्रह्मविद्वाक्यभाष्यम् " इति मीमांसापादुकापद्यखण्डव्याख्याने— " छान्दोग्यव्याख्यानरूपब्रह्मनन्दिवाक्यव्याख्याता द्रमिडभाष्यकारः पुनः प्रबन्धारम्भे 'नमो जैमिनये वेदरहस्यसंपुटनिगूढविष्फारयित्रे न्यायप्रज्वलितचेतसे नमोऽस्त्वाचार्येभ्यः' इति जैमिनिनमस्कारपूर्वकमेवेतराचार्याणां नमस्कारमाविश्चकार । " इति ।

Vide page 15, stanza 11, Mīmāṁsā-pādukā-paritrāṇa, Madras

However to arrive at a conciliation with the passages of Yāmuna quoted above, we can take the word विवृतानि to mean that Dramiḍa has

expounded the views of the Bıahma-sūtras in his Vākya-bhāsya. This interpretation is approved by Śrī-Vedānta Deśika in his Tattvatīkā, vide: " संचिक्षिपुरिति । सूत्रस्थापितार्थपरैः ग्रंथैरित्याशयः । " Page 95 of the edition of Śrī-Bhāṣya with ten commentaries edited by Pandit V. Anantacarya and Pandit V. Krishnamacharya, Vol. I). The word in the reference from the Śrī-Bhāṣya quoted above, *viz.*, संचिक्षिपुः should also be interpreted as has been done with word विवृतानि above.

Consequent on the untenableness of the opinion that Dramiḍa was the author of a Bhāṣya on the Brahma-sūtras, established above, the view that the Vākya of Brahmanandin as the text for the Dramiḍa-bhāsya should also be an exposition of the Brahma-sūtras fails.

S'RĪKAṆṬHA S'IVĀCĀRYA

A PREDECESSOR TO SRI-SANKARABHAGAVATPADACARYA

Bhāratakalānidhi Vidyāsāgara Vidyāvācaspati
P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SHASTRI, B. A. (Oxon); M. A. (Madras),
Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology,
Presidency College, Madras

Dr. T. R. Chintamani has argued elaborately (in pp. 67 to 76 of the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. I, Madras) that S'rīkaṇṭha alias Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of the well-known S'ivādvaita-bhāṣya on the Brahma-sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa, should have flourished about the middle of the 13th century A. D., *i. e.*, long after Rāmānuja and Ānandatīrtha. Pandit K. G. Natesa Shastri has attacked this position and concludes in his article on "S'rīkaṇṭhācārya" (in Part II, Vol. I of the Jijñāsa, Madras 1927) that S'aṅkara was earlier than S'rīkaṇṭha and that Rāmānuja (1070-1126) came later than S'rīkaṇṭha (after 788 A. D. and before 1070 A. D.). In his learned introduction to his "S'ivādvaita of S'rīkaṇṭha (University of Madras 1930) Mr. S. Sūryanārāyaṇa Shastri refers in detail to all the known views on the age of S'rīkaṇṭha and appears to incline to the view that, S'rīkaṇṭha must be posterior at any rate to S'aṅkara at least.

Appaya Dīkṣita the author of the eloborate commentary 'S'ivār-kamaṇi-dīpikā' on the S'rīkaṇṭha-bhāṣya, states in unmistakable terms that S'rīkaṇṭha preceded S'aṅkarācārya.

In their hurry to criticise unfavourably the conclusions of Appaya Dīkṣita, Mr. Chintamani and following him Mr. Sūryanārāyaṇa Shastri also have allowed themselves to put into the mouth of Appaya Dīkṣita conclusions and views entirely foreign to the learned Dīkṣita. In his *Ānandalaharī* in particular, the aim of the Dīkṣita, is to assess the doctrinal merit of S'rīkaṇṭha's, S'ivādvaitism to the revival systems of S'aṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Ānandatīrtha and certainly not to approximate the relative chronology of the four Ācāryas. If this is borne in mind, the manner of citation of the

several Bhāṣyakāras now beginning with one and again with another, will not puzzle the reader in any manner. The citations are for the comparison and contrast of particular doctrinal problems. And, Appaya Dīkṣita states in unmistakable language that S'rīkanṭha is earlier even to S'aṅkara. And this is made abundantly clear by Appaya Dīkṣita when he eloborates पूर्वाचार्यैः कलुषितम् (5th stanza in S'rīkanṭha-bhāṣya) as " एवमर्वाचीनभाष्यादिप्रणेतृणां ये पूर्वपूर्वोपदेष्टार आसंस्तानुद्दिश्य 'पूर्वाचार्यैः कलुषितम्' इत्युक्तिः " *i. e* , the reference is to the doctrinal ancestors to the modern Ācāryas from S'rīkanṭha to Ānandatīrtha.

Besides the testimony of Appaya Dīkṣita, we have distinct indications in the Bhāsya of S'rī-S'aṅkara, that S'aṅkara was aware of the S'rīkanṭha-bhāsya and that it is to S'rīkanṭha and his view that S'aṅkara refers by his अपरः and केचित्, in particular cases. We will just draw attention to two cases where S'aṅkara's references must be to S'rīkanṭha and S'rīkanṭha alone.

In his Bhāṣya on I-i-25, S'aṅkara states that the term *Gāyatrī* refers to Brahman, " because thus (*i. e.*, by means of the metres) the direction of the mind (on Brahman) is declared " and adds at the end that ' अपर आह ' —Another commentator is of opinion that the term *Gāyatrī* directly denotes Brahman on account of the equality of number; for just as the *Gāyatrī* metre has four feet consisting of six syllables each, so Brahman also has four feet (*i. e.*, quarters) ".

Of all the well-known commentators on the Brahma-sūtras, this reference to a *Gāyatrī* of four feet of six syllables each foot, is made only by S'rīkanṭha and Bhāskara. Bhāskara is definitely assigned to the ninth century A.D. Bhāskara criticises S'aṅkara directly in many places, as also in his comments on I-i-25 more definitely. S'aṅkara therefore could not have meant Bhāskara by 'अपर'. Govindānanda, the author of the ' Ratnaprabhā ' on the S'āṅkara-bhāṣya states in the course of his comments on I-i-26 " षडक्षरैश्चतुष्पादत्वं वृत्तिकारोक्तमप्रसिद्धम् " (Obscure is the reference to the Vṛttikāra who is alleged to have referred to a *Gāyatrī* of four feet of six syllables each). The Vṛttikāra is evidently Bodhāyaṇa whose Vṛtti on the Brahma-sūtras, though referred to here and there, has never been forthcoming from

He again says in the colophon at the end of Chapter X, thus:

इति श्रीभवानीभावनासक्त-**शाङ्करभट्ट-दामोदरभट्टसूनु**-**श्रीगौरीपतिसूनु-गदाधरभट्टेन** विरचिते रसिकजीवने दशमः प्रबन्धः पूर्णः ।

We do not know if S'aṅkarabhaṭṭa referred to above is the same as S'aṅkarabhaṭṭa (son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa) the author of द्वैतनिर्णय 1540-1600.[2] Two verses of Śaṅkara and eight verses of S'aṅkara-guru are cited in the *R. J.* As Aufrecht says[3] that Dāmodara was the pupil of S'aṅkara, Dr. H. Sharma concludes that the verses under the name of S'aṅkarguru must be attributed to S'aṅkarabhaṭṭa, the 'Guru' of Dāmodara. This does not seem to be correct for I could trace one verse of S'aṅkara and three verses of S'aṅkaraguru to the *Saundarya laharī* of the famous S'aṅkarāchārya, as has been already pointed out by the present writer elsewhere.[4]

From the colophon already cited, it seems that S'aṅkarabhaṭṭa might be both the father and preceptor of Dāmodara.

Gadādhara's geneology

S'aṅkara-Bhaṭṭa
|
Dāmodara-Bhaṭṭa
|
(Gaurīkānta or Gaurīpati) Gaurīśa + Umā
|
Gadādharabhaṭṭa

Seven verses are found quoted under the name of Dāmodara (or D. Bhaṭṭa) in the *R. J.* Dr. Sharma assigns these verses to Dāmodarabhaṭṭa, the grand-father of Gadādhara. In one of the verses, the Moghul Emperor Akbar is referred to as –

गाजीन्द्राकबरक्षितीश्वर-मनश्चिन्तान्धकारापहा
यस्य क्षोणिपते-रराजदधिकं दीपोपमा लेखनी । —*R. J.* II.27

Dr. Sharma, therefore, writes that Dāmodara was patronised by some king who was at the court of the great Moghul Emperor and must have flourished at about the end of the 16th century. We are not sure if this statement is correct. From Prof. Kāṇe's *H.D.S.*, we know of two Dāmodaras :-

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[2] Kāṇe: H. D. S., I. p. 747 [3] C. C. I 250 a [4] Indian Culture, VII. i., pp. 71-72

(1) Dāmodara, son of S'aṅkarabhaṭṭa and eldest brother of Nīlakaṇṭha and author of *Kali-varjya-nirṇaya* and *Dvaitanirṇaya-pariśiṣṭa*. About 1610 A. D [5] We might surmise that this Dāmodara wrote a supplement to the *Dvaitanirnaya* of S'aṅkarabhaṭṭa (1540-1600) who was probably his father and preceptor. Dāmodara referred to here was in all probability the grand-father of our Gadādhara and father of Gaurīpati or Gaurīśa.

(2) Dāmodara (son of Nāyaka-Paṇḍita and father of Gaurīśa-bhaṭṭa), born in Mahārāṣtra on the banks of a holy river in Yajñabhūmi. Studied at Benares. Author of *Viṭṭhala-Vilāsa*. Was honoured at the court of Akbar This Dāmodara's son Gaurīśabhaṭṭa wrote Anumaraṇa-pradīpa, after 67 years after Akbar's era (*i.e.*, 1609 A. D.).[6] He also mentions in this work his father's *Vi·hala-vilāsa*.[7] Though both the Dāmodaras referred to above seem to be contemporaries, the verse in the *R.J.* in which Akbar is mentioned is perhaps to be assigned to this Dāmodara who was a Mahārāṣṭriya, because of the refeience to Akbar by whom he was said to have been honoured.

Gaurīśa (= Gaurīpati or Gaurīkānta), son of Dāmodara Maithila and father of our Gadādhara composed at Benares (in 1640 A.D. = Sunday, 13th of Āśvina in the year 1696 Vikrama) the *Ācārādarśa-bodhinī*, a commentory on S'rīdaṭṭa's *Ācārādarśa*.[8] On the strength of this, Gadādhara was assigned, by Dr. H. sharma to about the year 1660 A.D.

While writing about the date of Gadādhara, Prof. Gode cites[9] the following couple of verses from the *R.J.* under the name of Jagannātha-Paṇḍitarāya:

(a) 'तावद्यापय दिवसान्' *R.J. III*, 54 (p. 59)

Also found in the *Bhāminīvilāsa*, I.6

[5] Kāṇe: H. D. S., I, p. 702

[6] अकब्बरमहीन्द्रस्य गतैर्मुन्यर्तुवत्सरैः पूरितः, कार्तिकेऽष्टम्यां काश्यां गौरीशशर्मणा ।

[7] Kāṇe: H. D. S., I, p. 696

[8] Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected works, Vol. II, pp. 139 and 142. M/m Prof. Kāṇe's H. D. S, Vol. I, pp. 363-4

[9] 'Notes on Indian Chronology'—V (in the Annals of the B. O. R. I., Vol. XII, pp. 396-99)

('जगन्नाथस्य'. Dr. H. Sharma's Ed. 1938)

(b) 'आरामाधिपतिः' (*R.J.* III. 96. p. 80 'पण्डितगाथस्य')

As the first of the above verses is found with slight variations in the Rasagaṅgādhara[10] of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, Mr. Gode says that the *R.J.* 'must have been composed after 1650 A.D. (Jagannātha's date) or the middle of the 17th century.'

The dates assigned to Gadādhara, by Dr. Sharma and Prof. Gode have to be modified slightly: Gadādhara quotes a verse[11] under Ghanaśyāma's name. Ghanaśyāma was a minister of King Tukkāji Mahārāja of Tanjore who ruled between 1728-35 A.D.[12] We may, therefore, say that Gadādhara might either be a contemporary of Ghanaśyāma or slightly later than 1735 A.D. We may, hence, assign the *R.J.* roughly to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 18th century (or circa 1725-50 A.D.).

III. *Gadādhara's works* :—

Besides the *R. J.* our author seems to have compiled another work of 'anyoktis' called *Anyokti-ratna-karaṇḍikā*. At the end of the 3rd chapter (called *Anyokti-sāra*) of the *R. J.* author writes thus:

' रुचिरान्योक्तयः काश्चिदीरिता चिस्तरार्थिना ।
दृष्टव्या वै विरचितान्योक्तिरत्नकरण्डिका ॥' (P. 96)

From this, it might be surmised that he had already compiled an elaborate work containing 'Anyoktis' and he had only given some choicest verses from this work, in the III chapter of the *R. J.*

IV. *Extent of the work and other details* :—

The *R. J.* contains 1560 or according to Dr. Sharma 1562 verses. The ग्रन्थसंख्या of *R. J.* according to the MS. consulted by Prof. Gode is 3142 'ślokas,' *i.e.*, it contains verses whose volume is equal to 3142 'Anuṣṭup-ślokas'. The work is divided into ten chapters called प्रबन्धs. The

[10] Nirṇayasāgar Press Ed. 1894, p. 330

[11] 'इन्द्राद्यैः किं प्रवृत्तम्' etc. *R. J.*, I. 46., p. 8

[12] Dr. M. Krishnamāchāriar's Hist. of Cl. Skt. Lit., (2nd Ed. 1937) pages 248–49

smallest is the 5th ch. containing only 96 verses, while the biggest is the 3rd which contain only 409. Of the verses cited 588 are assigned to their authors or sources and 974 anonymous.

My copy contains at the end two verses[13] by the scribe (लेखक). It is said in the second verse that this work was copied by him rapidly in two days, in order to please Hari-Hara-Yati, who could not be identified by us now.

V. Works and Writers mentioned :—

Prof. Gode's list of works and writers contains 122 entries to which Dr. Sharma adds 20 and the present writer could add 6 more,[14] the total thus coming to 148. Besides these, I could trace many of the anonymous verses to their sources of authors. Of the authors in the lists of Dr. Sharma and Prof. Gode, seven[15] are not found mentioned in my copy.

Kīkā-Kavi, as mentioned by Dr. Sharma is Kīkā-Kavi in my copy. Matyupādhyāya in Dr. Sharma's list is Macchapādhyāya in my copy. The verse under this name is 'रे सारङ्गा: ' (*R. J*, VI, p. 148) which is found in Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa's *Padyaracanā* (N. S. P. Ed. p. 44) under the name Umāpatyupādhyāya. Hence Matyupādhyāya and Macchapādhyāya are obviously scribal errors.

There as 11 verses at the end of each of which is added ममार्यं गदाधरस्य, obviously these are by the author himself. There are 5 verses more under the name Gadādhara, which may not be by the compiler of the *Rasika-jīvana*. The *Pratīkas* of the two sets of verses is appended below for the sake of reference.

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13 (a) अथ लेखकलेख्यं :—देहमूर्यमिते शाके क्षये शुक्लरहस्यपि ।
चम्पाख्यषष्ठ्यां सम्पूर्णो लेखाद्रासिकजीवनः ॥

(b) मनुच्छात्रा दक्षास्त्वरिततरमेनं समलिखंस्त्रिभिर्घस्रैर्हर्षाद्धरिहरयतेस्तोषणकृते ।
चिरं रक्ष्या नाना कविवरमुखाब्जोक्तवचसां दृढा मंजूषेयं सुखयतु रसास्वादचतुरान् ॥

14 Kamalā. Dhūrta. Bhalla-Bhatta Mallabhadra. Rāṇaphala and Lolimba-Kavi.

15 Adbhutapuṇya. Bhāratī-Kālidāsau. Ratnākara. Rajeśvara. Raudra. Vāṇīvilāsa and Vāsudeva.

(A) Index of verses by the compiler of *Rasika-jīvana* :—

1. अस्याः कामनिवास- (IV. 45 p. 102)
2. आहतकुपित- (I. 1. p. 1)
3. आस्तां दूरतया (VI. 2. p. 133)
4. इष्टोदाहरणं (I. 5. p. 1)
5. उत्फुल्लमानस- (I. 3. p. 1)
6. उमातनूजेन (I. 4. p. 1)
7. कर्पूरप्रतिपन्थिनो (II. 57. p. 29)
8. भिक्षुकोऽपि (I. 19. p. 3)
9. विरिञ्चिनारायण- (I 2. p. 1)
10. शरासने सायक- (II. 78 p. 33)
11. सहचरि किं (I. 77. p. 13)

(B) Index of verses by a certain Gadādhara :—

1. अदम्भा हि रम्भा (*R. J.* IV. 6, p. 97, *Padyaracanā*, IV. 5)
2. कनकहरिणं हत्वा (*R. J.* IX. 34, p. 202)
3. नयनाञ्चल- (*R. J.* IV. 37, p. 101)
4. रामा-विलोलनयने (*R. J.* IV. 33, p. 101)
5. शीलानि ते (*R. J.* IX. 31, p. 202, *Padyaracanā*, XIII. 10)

This valuable Sanskrit Anthology *Rasika-jīvana* richly deserves a critical edition on scientific lines which the present writer hopes to bring out at an early date.

NOTE ON THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF GUJARAT

THE LATE RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIXIT

It is well-known that Gujarat is one of the few Provinces in India, which have an unbroken current of human history from the stone age to the present day, but it has so far attracted comparatively few workers. The physical conditions of Gujarat, which give it a distinctive character from the dawn of human existence, are the exceptionally long sea line, the number of large and small rivers, adding to the fertility of the soil and the rich landscape of hill and jungle, which added to the mild climate, must have induced early man to make it his favourite haunt. In the prehistoric times the peninsula of Kathiawar had small settlements of the same character as the well-known civilization of the Indus Valley represented by Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The archaeological record of the Province is exceptionally rich for the historical period beginning with the time of the Maurya Emperor Aśoka and the mention of a Persian Minister named Tuṣāspha, who is said to have set up irrigational works.

The earliest period of human existence is what is known as the palaeolithic or the old stone age. In this period man, who had just emerged from the childhood of the race, wandered about from place to place as a hunter without being able to make a permanent habitation. In the Kathiawar peninsula and Gujarat are found traces of the rough stone implements which man made by striking river pebbles against one another, and the banks of the Sabarmati, Narmada and their tributaries are replete with these oldest witnesses of human activity. The Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition, which carried on its labours in the middle Sabarmati valley in the Vijapur Taluka of the Baroda State and also in the Sankheda Bahadurpur region, has systematically carried on important researches, which throw a flood of light on early man. A comprehensive report of Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Leader of the Expedition, will shortly be

published.[1] What is now needed is that further work should be extended to the other parts of Kathiawar and Gujarat, which it would not be too much to expect.

Where this early man came from and in what direction his further evolution is to be traced, is still not clear. It is, however, quite certain that Gujarat was populated centuries or millenia afterwards by a race of man who had reached the neolithic stage. They must have had a more settled life and were acquainted with the domestication of animals and burnt pottery for their needs. The fact that a great amount of fine loess had been blown by winds over the habitat of the older paleolithic people is indicative of the great distances in time between these cultures. More intensive and extensive work on this phase of primitive man in Gujarat is necessary, and the projected excavations at Langhnaj near Mehsana are sure to yield more interesting material. In Kathiawar the existence of this phase in the Amreli District is well-known, but there is need for further work all along the river-beds and the central highland belt. The people of this microlithic culture had spread far and wide in the Malwa and Rajputana regions as also in the Hyderabad and Mysore States, and a connected study is sure to be of great help in fixing the age.

The copper age was ushered in Gujarat by the find of the site of Rangpur in the Limbdi State. This cannot, however, be a mere isolated site, and further thorough search is sure to yield important results. The only possibility of the culture of the Indus valley travelling to this centre is by sea, and one particular area, which deserves to be searched for evidence of settlements of this period, is the North-Western tip of the coast near Dwarka whence the Indus people must have obtained their supplies of conch-shell for their personal ornaments. It is due to the memory of the early affluent settlements on the coast that Dwarka and Prabhas or Somnath are so prominent in Epic literature. The region of Narayansar in Cutch which was the coastal delta of a river, coming down from Sind has to be searched for remains of this period. The continuity of the trade in the semi-precious stones, such as carnelians and agates, in places like

[1] After the sad demise of R. B. Dixit, the Report is published last year. —Editors

Cambay and Broach, is a distinct link with the past, extending over the last 5000 years. A thorough examination of this problem will be possible when the neighbourhood of the sources of these stones as also of their manufacture is carefully examined. The starting of an Archæological Department by the small State of Rajpipla, which has been the principal source of carnelian, is a step in the right direction.

Coming to historic times, it is clear that the southern division of Kathiawar, which has appropriated to itself the name of Saurāṣṭra or Sorath once applied to the whole of Kathiawar, has been the most important and prosperous part of that peninsula during the last 2500 years. The great rock at Girnar with its three valuable records of the times of the Maurya Emperor Aśoka, the Ksatrapa Rudradāman and the Gupta Emperor Skandagupta is probably the most important inscribed stone in India. It is, however, unfortunate that no remains of the Mauryan period have yet been unearthed in the whole of Gujarat (including Kathiawar), and it is high time that systematic efforts ware made to explore the archæological wealth of this great province. One difficulty felt in respect of a systematic exploratory survey of Kathiawar and Gujarat is the fact that the area is divided among the largest number of States in one single Prvince of India. It should not, however, be impossible to devise an organisation which would be able to extend its operations throughout the area irrespective of whether it is included in the British Districts or in Indian States. The Gujarat Research Society with the cooperation of the Gujarat Vernacular Society should organize such work with the sanction of the States in which the work is to be carried out and with the help of local scholars.

Except the Sana caves and the remains of a Buddhist monastery at Valabhi (modern Vala) found by Father Heras, no other Buddhist remains have yet been brought to light in Kathiawar. In the forest-clad hills surrounding the Girnar peak, there is a site named Bori, which was visited by officers of the Archæological Department some 29 years ago, but nothing further seems to have been done. An interesting site, which from the find of punch-marked and other coins, promises to date from the early centuries before and after the Christian era, is Hathab (ancient Aṣṭavapra, a city

with 8 bastions) nearly 30 miles from Bhavnagar. The vicinity of early Jain caves at Uparkot and Bāwā Pyārā near Junagadh deserve to be explored.

The period of the Western Kṣatrapas has an unusually accurate record in the shape of coins. In fact, in the whole range of Indian archaeology, there is no more valuable series of coins which helps in reconstructing as accurately as possible the genealogy and the extent of the reign-periods of a ruling dynasty. These coins are of a uniform type and size (roughly a quarter rupee piece or a distant precursor of the Kachchi *kori*) and invariably give the names title of the prince and his father on one side and the date by the side of the king's bust. It is from the long continuance (nearly 3 centuries) of this coinage in Gujarat that the Śaka era must have taken root in this country and finally spread over the whole peninsula. The S'aka era was supplanted in Gujarat after the Gupta conquest in the fifth century and the Saṁvat or Vikrama era, which is at present in vogue appears to have been introduced from Malwa after the Gupta-Valabhi era ceased to be used in the 8th Century A. D. No sites definitely belonging to the period of Kṣatrapa rule (2nd-4th Century A. D.) have yet been brought to notice, and the find of inscriptions from the sites like Andhau and Khavda from Cutch and Gunda and Mulvasar from Kathiawar record only the erection of sepulchral stelae in stone of certain persons and do not give any clue to large city sites.

The Gupta period, which is characterized in North India by highly artistic products, which indicate the high water mark of Indian achievement in the domain of art, must have a corresponding phase in the archæology of Kathiawar, especially as Kathiawar was an integral part of the Gupta dominions. The large number of copper-plate grants issued by the Maitrakas of Valabhi, mostly recording grants to Brahmins or religious establishments, give a vast detail of geographical material, which is yet to be properly worked out. It is undoubted that when sites of the Gupta-Valabhi period have been discovered and excavated, they will add considerably to our knowledge of the arts and culture of the people of Gujarat and Kathiawar in this important period. The fine sculptures in the Museum at Idar reveal a forgotten but highly important school of

sculpture in Western Gujarat, which has unfortunately not drawn sufficient attention.

With the destruction of Valabhi by the Arab hoardes in the 8th Century we enter upon the medieval period to which the oldest standing monuments in Kathiawar, such as the temples at Ghumli and Gop, are attributed. The whole interior of Junagadh and surrounding States, if properly explored, is bound to disclose many more interesting relics. In Gujarat proper such ancient cities as Karwan (ancient *Kāyāvaroheaṇa*), Kamrej (*Kāmanijja*), Navasari (ancient *Nāgasārika*) and Kaira (ancient *Kheṭaka*), not to speak of Broach (ancient *Bharukachcha*) are worthy of systematic and thorough exploration if the culture of the early historic period of Gujarat is to be revealed. The architectural and sculptural wealth of North Gujarat has already been published in a separate volume of the Archæological Survey, and the medieval architecture of Cutch and Kathiawar and of Dabhoi has also received attention. What is needed now is a systematic and comprehensive study bringing out the evolution of Gujarat architecture side by side with vicissitudes of its history. The Chālukya, Rāṣṭrakūta, Paramāra, Chavda and Chaulukya dynasties, which held sway over Gujarat in turn have left numerous records in the shape of inscriptions and architecture and art, and many still require to be reclaimed from the unexplored interior in the north-eastern part of the Province.

One important aspect of Gujarat archæology is the presence of the memorial slabs or *palias* which occur in hundreds and have not yet been fully explored. As stated above, most of the early inscriptions are in the nature of memorial stones in honour of the dead heroes and this practice seems to have continued throughout. There are also a large number of *Sati* stones. One important place, which has not yet been properly examined for the historical and dateable material on memorial stones is Halvad in the State of Dhangadhra.

The architecture of the Solanki and Waghela dynasties brings the survey of Gujarat archæology to a close. The monuments of the Jains in Gujarat with their cruciform architecture and lavish use of marble

ornamentation render them particularly attractive, especially as their choice fell on elevated hill tops like Junagadh, S'atruñjaya and Abu or shady valleys as at Kumbharia. The huge many-storied step-wells are another distinctive feature of medieval Gujarat which ran as well into the Moslem period. I do not propose to deal at length with the archæology of the later period. My object will be satisfied if this paper draws the attention of lovers of antiquity and brings to their notice the necessity of comprehensive organization for the systematic study and investigation of the immense material lying in the archæological field in Gujarat including Kathiawar.

GLIMPSES FROM THE ĀYURVEDIC SAMHITĀS

DR. BALKRISHNA A. PATHAK, M. B., B. S.
Principal, Ayurvedic College, Benares Hindu University

The Āyurvedic Saṁhitās supply very useful information to a student of the history of medicine.

It is the object of this article to draw attention of the readers to some important topics of general interest discussed in the four ancient works of the Hindu Physicians. These Saṁhitās have not come to us in their original form. There have been additions, subtractions and alterations in their texts in the course of time. Some portions of the texts have totally disappeared owing to mutilations of the palm leaves on which they were written. The exact date of their composition is a big problem of Indology. But speaking generally, we can say that they represent the picture of medical thought in India up to the 5th century A. D. As all of them are written in Sanskrit and their translations are not very faithful, students of modern medicine find it very difficult to follow and to evaluate their conceptions of morbid processes.

The Atharva Veda has been recognised as the foundation of the Āyurveda according to these Saṁhitās. But before we accept this fact the following observations deserve careful thinking. "Even the magical portion of the Atharva Veda shows Aryan influence. If magic has to be accepted, the next best thing is to refine it. Bad magic is condemned and good magic encouraged. Many charms make for harmony in family and village life. The barbarous and bloody sacrifices, which still persist in unaryanised parts of India, are condemned. The old title of the Atharva Veda, "Atharvāṅgirasaḥ" shows that there were two different strata in it, one of Atharvan and the other of Āṅgirasa. The former refers to auspicious practices used for healing purposes. The hostile practices belong to the Āngirasa. The first is medicine and the second is witchcraft and the

two are mixed up. The Atharva Veda, the result of so much compromise seemed to have had a good deal of trouble in obtaining recognition as a Veda. It was regarded with contempt, since its central feature was sorcery. It contributed to the growth of a pessimistic outlook in India. Men cannot believe in devil and the temptor and yet retain joy in life. To see demons close at hand is to shudder at life. In fairness to the Atharva Veda, it must be recognised, that it helped to prepare the way for the scientific development in India." (Indian Philosophy, by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vol. I, P. 122)

These remarks are strongly supported by a closer study of these Saṁhitās, which represent a most attractive stage in the evolution of medical thought in this country. Besides they give us some idea of philosophic thoughts prevalent in this country during the period of this compilation. To a student of modern medicine, these philosophical discussions sound strange. But in treatment one has got to treat the individual and not disease alone—was their maxim. Hence they have discussed the nature and soul, and while doing so, have freely accepted suitable thoughts from the various systems of philosophy prevalent in their times. This shows beyond doubt that there was interrelation between the various branches of learning. Caraka, Bhela and Kāśyapa have freely imbibed thoughts from their environment. All these writers narrate Sāṅkhya school of 24 elements, dropping out *tanmātrās* altogether; while Suśruta's work in its final version follows the latest ideas of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

The Jains as well as the Buddhists have left their mark on these Saṁhitās. In Bhela Saṁhitā, we come across words like अप्काय, वायुकाय, तेजःकाय, etc. In Kāśyapa Saṁhitā, we meet with words like उत्सर्पिणी, अवसर्पिणी, पलितोपम, नारायण-संहनन etc., which are distinctly of the Jain origin. In fact पलितोपम should be read as पल्योपम.

The diseases were divided into two main classes—mental and physical, and their interaction was also carefully noted. But while discussing the Causation of these diseases, they could not extricate themselves from the influence of the Atharva Veda. Bhūta-Vidyā was recognised as a special branch of the Āyurvedic system and it influenced their views on Psychiatry, Ped-

iatrics and Obstetrics. For instance, while discussing the etiology of affective disorders of mind, Caraka takes into consideration the pernicious influence of the devils on the human mind. But while following tradition on one hand, Caraka as well as Suśruta both have, in fact hinted at the keen controversy raging in their times as regards the place of evil spirits in causing mental disorders. Their searching minds found out psychic as well a physical causes for such disorders and made a compromise with the traditional views. They have, therefore, advocated the use of *mantras*, offerings and charms along with that of drugs in the treatment of mental disorders. We can hardly face to notice the advance they have made after the time of the Atharva Veda. Even now, this controversy has not ended so far as mental alleviations are concerned, as the investigations of the Psychical Research Society into what are called ' Spiritualistic ' phenomena have begun to shake the hardiest faith in the truths hitherto accepted in the name of Science.

The various forms of Insanity were recorded. It is really remarkable that the connection btween Epilepsy and Insanity was noted. The Sanskrit word *Apasmāra* for Epilepsy is also significant in as much as it suggests its dire influence on memory (*Smṛti*). The various clinical forms of Epilepsy have been recorded and the disease was aptly called polymorphous (*Viśvarūpa*) or having many forms. In this very chapter, Caraka refers to Dementia—the gravest and most typical of all gross encephalopathic syndromes by a very appropriate word अतत्त्वाभिनिवेश. The suggestion of Suśruta to try vevisection in certain types of mental irritability suggests its connection with hypertension.

The bodily disorders are tabulated and explained on the theory of वात, पित्त and कफ. This theory differs from the humoral theory of ancient Greek Physicians. It has suffered immensely as the word वात was translated as ' wind ' and not as ' nervous energy. ' Interpreted in this light, the theory can very well stand the criticism of modern Pathologists. The description of Epidemics, wars and famines as greatest destructors of mankind is also interesting. Caraka has referred to epidemics, raging all over the country and carrying away thousands of people irrespective of their age, body, food, strength, mind, temperament and adaptability.

According to him, the advent of those epidemics was heralded by abnormal changes in winds blowing over the land, by unhealthy alterations of water supply, by sudden changes in seasons and in the superficial layers of the earth. His casual reference to discernable increase into the population of mosquitoes, flies and rats of the affected parts of the country, deserves special notice, in as much as, now we are able to judge, our progress in the direction of scientific knowledge. The main cause-infection was not properly understood and अधर्म or lack of religiousness was advanced as the root cause of mischief. Still as a practical man he has prescribed drugs for saving oneself at the time of such epidemics. Again, several epidemic areas for Goitre, Filariasis, Leprosy and Tuberculosis have been described by Bhela and Kāśyapa.

At this stage, the question naturally arises as to what were their general ideas about infection. Let us see the evidence. Even in the Atharva Veda one meets with vague references to invisible germs and intestinal worms along with praise of sunlight. Caraka and Bhela refer not only to the intestinal worms, but to minute round and reddish germs travelling in blood-vessels. Their connection with Leprosy and other skin diseases has been alluded to. Suśruta, while discussing skin diseases under a generic name Kuṣṭha clearly points out that fever, skin-diseases, Tuberculosis, Conjunctivitis and other diseases like small-pox go from person to person. He also enumerates the channels of infection—skin as well as alimentary, respiratory and genito-urinary tracts. But we cannot say that they knew modern Bacteriology. In fairness to them, we must admit they paved the way for modern workers. Again while discussing the etiology of infectious diseases like Tuberculosis, Erysipelas, Tetanus, Filariasis and our constant friend Malaria, there is no reference to their causative germs. In the contrary, a clear cut reference to malarial parasites is absent in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā even though it describes all the clinical varieties of Malaria and makes a very useful observation that a portion of morbid material (दोषशेष) lies latent deep in the body and causes a relapse by entering circulation after getting sufficient strength. So we conclude that inspite of wealth of observation about such diseases, the microspic world, not to talk of ultramicroscopic viruses escaped their notice. They have paid more attention to the soil—

the human body rather than to the seed—the pathogenic germs! Now-a-days, we think more of lesiens and environment rather than Man; they did the reverse.

The Kāśyapa Saṁhitā being a work on Pediatrics gives us an idea of the care of children in the beginning of Christian era. This work remained in the dark for years and has been published very recently. It describes diseases of children and along with them diseases of pregnancy and puerperium. Rickets has been elaborately described. He has laid stress on the importance of fruit-juice and bowel-wash in the general care of children. The three-wheeled toy-card and the toys made of clay bearing the shape of various animals were used for amusement of children. But in this work also, several diseases of children as well as those of pregnancy have been given mythological names. But the general treatment is based upon drugs. Suśruta has dealt with abnormal labour (मूढगर्भ) and has given a general direction about Coesarian Section. He has also described Cataract and its operative treatment. But diseases of inner structure of the eye were not understood properly and they are grouped together under a generic name Timira.

Nāḍī-parīkṣā or diagnosis of diseases by feeling the pulse at the wrist of the patient has not been described in any of these old works. It is comparatively recent. On the contrary great stress has been laid on interrogation and thorough physical examination of the patient by Caraka. He has also given directions to study the mental condition of the patient and see that he was not a malingerer. Laboratory aid was absent. But Caraka has advised the medical men to study the naked eye characters of stools, urine, sputum and vomited material of the patient. The practitioners have been asked to make use of their power of observation, of inference (अनुमान) and of reason (तर्क).

They have described a nursery for children (क्रीडागार), a labour room (सूतिकागार), but not a hospital, though there are historical grounds to believe that the hospital-system was started first in India on philanthropic grounds.

So far as drugs are concerned, they have placed their pharmacological

views, chiefly based on observation upon human beings. Animal experiments were unknown. The Āyurvedic Pharmacopaea includes drugs from the mineral, the botanical and the animal kingdom. The ancient Hindu Physicians deserve the credit of using mercury internally. They have also boldly prescribed gold, copper, etc., for internal use. Suśruta has the credit of prescribing fresh liver in cases of Anaemia due to Haemorrhages and Testicular extract in cases of impotency. Unfortunately for us, our Indian practitioners, are apt to laugh at them rather than critically study their observation based upon the experience of centuries in this tropical country.

These Saṁhitās provide a very high ethical code for the medical practitioners, but they are silent about any sort of State control over them. But there is indirect evidence to show that some sort of state control was in existence in those early days also. Suśruta has enjoined capital punishment (वधं चार्हन्ति) for those practitioners, who though quite clever in practical work, did not care to study the principles of medical science out of hatred for it. He has placed the blame on the state (कुविद्या नृपदोषतः) for existence of ignorant physicians or quacks who not knowing either surgery or medicine, kill the people out of avarice for money. He has also directed the Surgeon to take permission of the king as well as the relatives of the patient before performing a difficult surgical operation. In saying so he is fully supported by Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (अधि. ४, अ. १).

It seems the problem of quacks was as embarrassing in those days as it is to-day. All the Saṁhitās have condemned the quacks. They have praised only those who knew theory and practice of medical scienc. It has become rather a fashion to smile at our medical forefathers, because they are judged by the standard of present day custodians of the Āyurvedic system. If we can get rid of our scientific bigotry even for a moment, the following words of Caraka will deeply impress us :—

शास्त्रं ज्योतिः प्रकाशार्थं दर्शनं बुद्धिरात्मनः ।
ताभ्यां भिषक् सुयुक्ताभ्यां चिकित्सन्नापराध्यति ॥

[सू. स्था. ९—२२]

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN PLANTS

The Role of Yava and Caṇaka (gram) in Regimen of Indian Horses as disclosed in the Aśvāyurveda of Vāgbhaṭa, son of Vikrama

Prof. P. K. GODE, M. A.
Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4

In my paper[1] on "*Caṇaka (gram) as food for horses*" I tried to prove the history of *Caṇaka* as food for horses in India for about 1000 years. The earliest reference to *Caṇaka* as horse-food was traced by me in the section dealing with *Aśvacikitsita* forming part of the present *Agnipurāṇa* (C. 9th Century A. D.). To corroborate this reference there are references to *Caṇaka* as horse-food in Jayadatta's *Aśvavaidyaka* and Nakula's *Aśvacikitsita*. In fact Nakula recommends *Caṇaka* as second best food for horses, though he praises *Yava* as the best horse-food. Even in the *Agnipurāṇa*, *Caṇaka* appears as an alternative to *Yava*. Since my sending the above paper for publication, I have traced some interesting evidence about *Caṇaka* as horse-food in a MS.[2] of a work dealing with horses and their treatment. The chronology of this work has not been determined. The MS. of this work in the Government MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona is dated Saṁvat 1701 = A. D. 1651.

The author of this work was वाग्भट, son of विक्रम and the name of the work is अश्वायुर्वेद. In the Colophons of different chapters of the work, the

[1] Vide Annals (B. O. R. Institute, Poona), Vol. XXVI

[2] MS. No. 581 of 1899-1915, folios 196, the Colophon on folio 196 reads : " इति श्रीविक्रमात्मजवाग्भटविरचितेऽश्वायुर्वेदे किशोरचिकित्सा etc. ..... || संवत् १७०१ श्रावण सुदि ११ सोमे लिखितमिदं दुवेहरिकंठसुतदुवेलाड(?)कासुतदुवेकमलाकांततत्पुत्रदुवेसुखदेवेन राजमहलमध्ये स्वपठनार्थं परोपकारार्थं च || etc. "

In the first 9 verses, the author tells us that he has based his treatise on the earlier works of शालिहोत्र and other sages (" संवित्समुद्रमुनिसत्तमशालिहोत्रप्राप्तान्यतो विरचयामि चिकित्सितानि || ४ || ")

author's name is given as वाहड which is identical with the name वाग्भट as recorded by the author in the following verse on folio 4 of the MS. :—

" इदानीमस्य शास्त्रस्य क्रमो विक्रमसूनुना ।
बोधार्थं वैद्यपुत्राणां वाग्भटेनाभिधीयते ॥ ३ ॥ "

There are several writers of the name वाग्भट in Sanskrit literature. Even in the field of Medicine, we have the following name-sakes[3] of our वाग्भट :—

(1) वाग्भट I (author of अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह) C. A. D. 625

(2) ,, II (author of अष्टाङ्गहृदय) 8th or 9th century A. D.

(3) ,, (author of रसरत्नसमुच्चय) 13th century A. D.

The relation of our वाग्भट, the son of विक्रम, to his name-sakes recorded above remains to be investigated. The relation of his अश्वायुर्वेद with the treatises on horses by Jayadatta and Nakula needs also to be proved on definite evidence. For the present, I record below the evidence about the use of यव and चणक as food for horses described in detail by our author in the following extracts of the B.O.R. Institute MS. before me :—

(१) यवविधि[4] (Folio 54)

" तृप्तानामथ वाहानां महातिक्तकसर्पिषा ।
हेमंतेर्थव्यतीते स्युर्हिताय हरिता यवाः ॥ ७७ ॥

[3] Vide my English Intorduction to the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, ed. by Hari Shastri Paradkar, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1939, p. 4

[4] यव as man's food from the *Ṛgveda* onwards is celebrated in Sanskrit literature. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, it is prescribed for horse regimen along with other ingredients. In later treatises on horses such as जयदत्त's अश्ववैद्यक, नकुल's अश्वचिकित्सित, the शालिहोत्र ascribed to भोजराज etc., it is much praised as food for *Horses*. Even in the हस्त्यायुर्वेद of पालकाप्य, it is constantly prescribed as food for *elephants*. It found in चणक, a superior rival sometime before A.D. 1000. Even पालकाप्य prescribes चणक for elephants in the following verse :—

" तदाहि यवगोधूमा कलापा(या)श्चणकास्तथा ।
यवसार्धं प्रशस्यन्ते शाल्यन्नं नैव भोजनम् ॥ ५६ ॥ *P. 646* of हस्त्यायुर्वेद (A.S.S. Poona, 1894).

कुर्वंत्यारोग्यमंगे बलजवजननावर्णलावण्यसंपत्
सत्वोत्साहप्रभावप्रभृतिगुणकृतश्चेन्द्रियाणां मृदुत्वं ।
तन्वाना दीर्घमायुः समुचितसमये स्वामिभिश्चोपनीताः
संजायन्ते हरीणामिह **हरितयवाः** सेव्यमाना यथावत् ॥ ७८ ॥

अग्रंथयो यनावाला (यवानाला) युवानो ग्रंथिसंयुताः ।
उत्पन्नकुसुमाः पश्चाज्जायंते गर्भसंयुताः ॥ ७९ ॥

क्षीरमाविर्भवं संतस्ततो व्यक्तकणा **यवाः** ।
पक्वास्ते तदनुप्रोक्ताः सप्तधेति मनीषिभिः ॥ ८० ॥

रसैः षड्भिरुपेता स्युः कालजा **हरिता यवाः** ।
कषायकटुका रूक्षा बालाः प्रकृतिवातुलाः ॥ ८१ ॥

वर्चोभेदकृतोत्यर्थं मूत्रलाः कोष्ठशुद्धये ।
वृष्यायुवत् मापन्नाः(?) पुष्टिं पुष्णंति पुष्पिताः ॥ ८२ ॥

विपाके मधुरा क्षाराः कटुका गर्भितास्ततः ।
जनयंति ततो मांसं श्लेष्मला मूत्रकारिणः ॥ ८३ ॥

सक्षीराश्च रसोपेता माधुर्यगुणसंयुताः ।
पित्तकोपं निहत्यांतर्जायंते धातुवर्द्धनाः ॥ ८४ ॥

पक्वा युक्ता रसैः षड्भिः कोष्ठदाहकृतो मताः ।
मेदोमज्जास्थिमांसानि स्थिरीकुर्वंति सेविताः ॥ ८५ ॥

सप्तके प्रथमेत्यर्थं विरेकः कफसेचनं ।
प्रादुर्भवति पानेन वर्जयेदिति तद्बुधः ॥ ८६ ॥

सोढुं न पार्यते तृष्णा अह्नादूर्ध्वं विधीयते ।
एकाह्नाच्च पयःपानं यावत्सकुसुमा **यवाः** ॥ ८७ ॥

अन्यत्र सस्यमश्वानां तथा दृष्टं रसायनं ।
काले संसेव्यमाना हि यथा स्युः क्रमशो **यवाः** ॥ ८८ ॥

विरेके रक्तमांसास्थिमेदोमज्जादिधातवः ।
यवैर्वृद्धिं प्रपद्यंते क्रमादापूर्वसप्तकान् ॥ ८९ ॥

सप्तयः सप्तकान्सप्तक्रमेणैव चरंति ये ।
यवानां दुर्लभं तत्र ते परं बलवत्तराः ॥ ९० ॥
यवैर्या बलसंपत्तिः सप्तीनामिह जायते ।
न तां वर्णयितुं शक्ता भिषजः शास्त्रपारगाः ॥ ९१ ॥

इति **यवविधिः**[5]

हिमालयाद्विंध्यभुवस्तु यावत्
यवाः प्रधाना कथिता मुनीद्रैः ।
दिग्दक्षिणायां चणकः प्रशस्तो
मुकुष्टकः पश्चिमभूमिभागेः ॥ ९२ ॥[6]

यवानां त्रिविधिरुक्तश्चणकानामथोच्यते ।
चणका पंचधा दृष्टाः सुजाताः हरिः क्रमात् ॥ ९३ ॥

कुसुमादनुकोशस्य प्रादुर्भावोर्द्धभागता ।
सारत्वमथ पाकः स्यादित्थं **पंचविधो** मतः ॥ ९४ ॥

[5] Cf. the following remarks of Nakula in his अश्वचिकित्सित (*Bib. Ind.* 1887) about यव as food for horses :—

P. 40—" देवतानां यथा विष्णुर्द्विपदां द्विजवरः । नदीनां च यथा गङ्गा तथा **श्रेष्ठा यवा हये** ॥ "

P. 42—" परीक्षादौ यथा हेम्नः स्नेहस्य च प्रतिक्रिया । तथैवास्य तथा परीक्षा **यवभक्षणे** ॥ "

P. 40—" कृताः स्युर्यवभोज्येन संसिक्तास्तुरगा नरैः । **नीरोगास्तुरगाः सर्वे शालिहोत्रमतं** यथा ॥ "

There is a MS. of a work called शालिहोत्र (ascribed to भोजराज in the Colophon) *No. 16 of 1868-69* in the Government MS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona (dated Samvat 1864 = A. D. *1808*) in which I find the following verses:—

Folio 6—" यवोत्थयवसं दद्यादेकविंशत्यहानि च । **यवाभावेऽथ चणकान्** दद्यादश्वेषु नित्यशः ॥ १०१॥"

—" परीक्षाभिर्यथा हेम्नः स्नेहस्य च प्रतिक्रिया । तथास्यापि च तद्वच्च परीक्षा यवभक्षणे ॥ "

The relation of this भोजविरचित शालिहोत्र to Nakula's अश्वचिकित्सित needs to be examined.

[6] Cf. नकुल in अश्वचिकित्सित (*Bib. Ind.* 1887)

P. 39—" **यवाभावेऽथ चणकान्** दद्यादार्द्रतरान् सदा । "

P. 43—" **यवाभावेऽथ चणका** धान्यमन्यतमं परम् ।
यवाभावेऽथवा दद्यान्मुकुष्टांस्तैलसंयुतान् ॥
" अभावे च मुकुष्टानां मुद्गा देया मनीषिभिः "

पुष्पे लवणतिक्ताम्लरसो दोषापकर्षणः ।
भेदकृच्च तथा जातः कोश[:] स्यान्मधुरो गुरुः ॥ ९५ ॥

तिक्तः स्निग्धोर्धसारश्च शोधनो रक्तवर्धनः ।
रक्तं सारफलं कुर्यान्माधुर्यादथ बृंहणः ॥ ९६ ॥

मेदोमज्जास्थिशुक्राणां वृद्धये स्थिरतां गतः ।
योगेनामृतवद्दृष्ट**श्चणको** मृत्यवेन्यथा ॥ ९७ ॥

चणको दक्षिणे विंध्यादुत्तरेण यवाहितः ।
गोधूम[:] शिशिरस्यांते माधुर्यात्किल वृद्धये ॥ ९८ ॥

सक्षीरः शोणितप्राणवृद्धये चोष्णवीर्यधृक् ।
वृष्यः स तंदलो भेदः कारीकंठास्य·········रः ॥ ९९ ॥

गोधूमो जातमाधूको **यवो**पि न गुणावहः ।
व्यापन्नरसवीर्यत्वात्कुष्ठरोगाय जायते ॥ १०० ॥

चिकित्सागाधसरसि राजहंसं मुनीश्वरं ।
विनयात्रनतो राजा **नैषधः** पर्यपृच्छत ॥ १०१ ॥

यवमाषादिसस्यानां विधिरुक्तस्त्वयाधुना ।
चणकस्य विधिं तातं यथावद्वक्तुमर्हसि ॥ १०२ ॥

एवमुक्तो महाचार्यः **शालिहोत्रो**भ्यभाषत ।
शृणु **नैषध** वाहानां गाढविद्रववृद्धये ॥ १०३ ॥

दर्पोद्रेकाय सत्त्वाय सौहित्याय····खाय च ।
एक एवास्ति **चणको** नापरं सस्यमीदृशं ॥ १०४ ॥

तस्मात्तत्समये प्राप्ते निरपायो भिषग्वरः ।
दोषसंशोधनायाथ वह्निसंधुक्षणा[य] च ॥ १०५ ॥

कृमिसंचयनाशाय प्रदद्याद्दिनसप्तकं ।
कटुचूर्णेन वा मद्यचूर्णारिष्टेन वा क्वचित् ॥ १०६ ॥

वि·········लसुनोपेतं सिंधूत्थल मुने·········।
······················ मलशाखाभिभ्राजि कुसुमोत्कठो (?) ॥ १०७ ॥

फलैरभ्युद्गतक..................................जेत् ।
प्रातरम्रिकरैर्द्रव्यः समं लवणमुच्यते ॥ १०८ ॥

अनुपानाय परम दधि..........मस्तके ।
द्वितीये विजलिं दद्याद.....................पनद्यथा ॥ १०९ ॥

....पुष्यं वमधंटकं (?) ।
तृतीये तादृशं चारु **चणकं** त्वपराह्णके ॥ ११० ॥

....तैलं प्रशस्यते ।
न तत्र विहितं सर्पिर्माषमांसादिभोजनं ॥ १११ ॥

अति........तद्धि शूलजीर्णातिसारकृत् ।
........स्यं कोम........थं यथसुविहितं (?) च यत् ॥ ११२ ॥

तदुद्रिक्तरसैरेव पोष्याश्वा न तु भोजनैः ।
आताम्रमूलमंगानां मातुलुंगसमच्छदं ॥ ११३ ॥

ददाति **चणकं** मूढो योश्वानामतिदुस्तरं ।
करोति शूलमाध्मानं त्रिविधं हन्ति जीवितम् ॥ ११४ ॥

एवमुक्तेन **चणका** ये जीर्णचणका हयाः ॥
तेऽपि संवत्सरं यावत्पुष्टा हृष्टा सुमेधसः ॥ ११५ ॥

भवंति भारदूराध्वगमने संगरेदृथाः(?) ।
इति सर्वं समाकर्ण्य पुनः संसेवितो नृपः ॥ ११६ ॥

श्वसति पतति भूमौ गात्रमेभिः सशोषो
व्यथयति द्रवपर्णं मूलमाध्मानतो वैः ।
क्षुतित(?) इति ह कर्णौ मूर्च्छितोश्वो भिषग्भिः
चणकलग्नरोगीसाश्रुनेत्रोश्वचिह्नः(?) ॥ ११७ ॥

इति **चणकविधिः**[7]

Folio 57—" युग्माशनं श्रमहरं कथितं **यवानां**
वातानुलोमनकरं हि सदा प्रशस्तं ।

[7] Cf. जयदत्त in अश्ववैद्यक (*Bib. Ind.* 1886, Calcutta)
P. 106—चणकाश्चैव माषाश्च ये चान्ये व्रीहयस्तथा।
यवार्धेन प्रयोक्तव्या देशसात्म्येन खादने ॥ ९ ॥ "

कुष्ठप्रमेहशयनं तदलाभतोथ
श्रेष्ठं **मकुष्टचणकाद**पि धान्यमन्यत् ॥ ११८ ॥

Folio 62—" गुरुर्बलप्राणकरः समीरश्लेष्मापहः स्या**च्चणको** ह्यानाम् ॥

The foregoing long extracts recorded by me from the अश्वायुर्वेद of वाग्भट, son of विक्रम are very important as they throw a flood of light on many points pertaining to the production and consumption of यव, चणक and मकुष्ट[8] in different parts of India. These extracts open a new field of inquiry about the agricultural history of the several edible grains prescribed as food for horses by वाग्भट and other writers on Horses, such as शालिहोत्र of hoary antiquity, नकुल, जयदत्त, भोज etc., not to say पालकाप्य and others whose writings on elephents-lore have come down to us.

On the strength of the above extracts and other features of the *Aśvāyurveda* of Vāgbhaṭa, son of Vikrama, I have to make the following tentative suggestions for verification by brother-scholars :—

(1) *Verse 92* in the above extract is of exceptional interest to us as it tells us emphatically the geographical divisons of India in which three prominent *horse-grains* were grown about 1000 years ago :—

(i) Vāgbhaṭa states that from the *Himalayas upto the Vindhya range* of mountains यव was prominently used as horse-food.

(ii) In the *Southern quarter,* presumably below the Vindhya range चणक was used prominently as horse-food.

(iii) In the *Western regions* मकुष्ट was adopted as horse-food. In fact the whole of India was divided into यव-स्थान (above the Vindhyas) and चणक-स्थान (below the Vindhyas) as repeated in *verse 98* by our author (" चणको दक्षिणे विन्ध्यादुत्तरेण यवाहितः ")

(2) The association of यव with the Vedic Aryans, both as *man's food* and *horse-food* continued for more than 2000 years but with the Aryan

[8] See p. 411 of अष्टांगहृदयकोष, by K. M. Vaidya, Trichur, 1936.—Here मकुष्ट or मकुष्टक is identified with मटकी (Marathi). According to Nairne (*p. 78* of *Flowering Plants of Western India,* 1894) मटकी is a " doubtful native ". He identifies it with *Crotalaria Psoraloides.* On *p. 89,* he mentions *Phaseolus Trinervius* = मटकी which grows in Western India. *Narahari* and *Bhāvamiśra* call मकुष्ट as वनमुद्ग.

migration to the southern parts below the Vindhyas, this veteran यव had to fight with चणक, its superior rival that must have been then cultivated in large quantities. On account of its importance for human and animal nourishment, चणक ousted out the veteran यव from the 'menu' of *horse* and *man* and has continued its supremity in this field even to this day. The यव-गोधूम partnership was dissolved more than 1000 years ago and चणक-गोधूम (Gram-Wheat) alliance has governed our kitchens without a break.

(3) The exact date of the *Aśvāyurveda* of Vāgbhaṭa, son of Vikrama, from which I have recorded my data is not known. I may, however, suggest that it appears to be earlier than A. D. 1000. In this connection, I have to point out that in the list[9] of horse-breeds, numbering 54, I don't find the Persian (पारसीक), the Arabian (ताजिक) and the Turkish (तुरुष्क) breeds which are mentioned uniformly as the best breeds by जयदत्त, नकुल, सोमेश्वर (A.D. 1130) and mentioned even by हेमचन्द्र (A.D. 1088-1172). These writers flourished between C. 800 and 1250, when the foreign horse-trade with India was carried on at the Western Indian ports on a huge scale to meet the growing demand of Indian Princes for the best horses to fight with the superior Muslim Cavalry. I am, therefore, of opinion that the *A'vāyurveda* of Vāgbhaṭa, son of Vikrama, is possibly earlier than the works of the above writers, which expressly mention the Persian, Arabian and Turkish breeds among the best breeds of horses. The

[9] This list is found in कुलाध्याय (folios 43 48 of B. O. R. Institute Ms. of अश्वायुर्वेद of वाग्भट and consists of the following names: -

(१) कांबोज, (२) वाल्हीक, (३) वनायुज, (४) गांधारकुल, (५) आरट्टुल, (६) चांपेय, (७) त्रैगर्त, (८) आर्जुनेय, (९) साधिन्धेय, (१०) यौधेय, (११) यावन, (१२) हरव यावन, (१३) तौखार, (१४) कांदरेय, (१५) नार्मदेय, (१६) आनर्तय, (१७) उरस्य, (१८) काश्मीर, (१९) सकानक, (२०) पार्वत्य, (२१) उत्तरमाद्रेय, (२२) दक्षिणमाद्रेय, (२३) अंतर्द्वीपोद्भव, (२४) कैकेय, (२५) आंबष्ट, (२६) वार्तक, (२७) सौवीर, (२८) दारदारैरिक, (२९) क्षुद्रक, (३०) ऐरावत, (३१) मालव, (३२) मालव, (३३) विंध्यक, (३४) कालिंग, (३५) गौद्वर, (३६) वाराणस्य, (३७) पौलिंग, (३८) क्रथन, (३९) उपवृत्तक, (४०) सौराष्ट्रक, (४१) साल्वेय, (४२) कौरक्षेत्र, (४३) पांचाल, (४४) प्रौथक, (४५) कुधण, (४६) हरैवकुवण, (४७) हैमवत, (४८) मगधोद्भव, (४९) मत्तारिक, (५०) वामतेय, (५१) मौनिक, (५२) चकोर, (५३) कैलगिरिज, (५४) वैदर्भ

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya mentions in its chapter on *Aśvādhyakṣa* (p. 148 of *Eng. Trans.* 1929) the breeds of *Kāmbhoja, Sindhu, Araṭṭa* and *Vanāyu* countries as *the best*, those of *Bāhlīka, Pāpeya, Sauvīra* and *Taitala* as of *middle quality*, and the rest, ordinary *(avarāḥ)*. The *Amarakośa* (Kāṇḍa II, Kṣatra-varga, verse 45) mentions four kinds of horses *viz., Vanāyuja, Pārasīka, Kāmboja* and *Bāhlīka.* In this statement, the mention of the *Pārasīka* or the Persian breed is note-worthy ; the remaining three are mentioned in Kauṭilya's work and other early texts. If it is suggested that the *Aśvāyurveda* of Vāgbhaṭa, son of Vikrama, is later than the works of Jayadatta, Nakula, Someśvara (C. A. D. 1130) and Hemacandra (A D. 1088-1172), we have to inquire how it fails to mention in its exhaustive list of 54 breeds of horses—the पारसीक, ताजिक and तुरुष्क horses which are mentioned as best horses by Jayadatta, Nakula and Someśvara. Another omission in Vāgbhata's treatise is that of the names[10] of horses according to colour (वर्ण) such as सेराह, खुङ्गाह, उराह, उकनाह, बोरुखान, etc., which are mentioned by the above four writers. Hemacandra calls these names as " देशीप्राय " but they appear to me to be foreign terms associated with foreign breeds of horses imported to India between A. D. 800 and 1300. In view of these omissions in the treatise of Vāgbhaṭa, I am inclined to suggest tentatively that this treatise is earlier than C. A. D. 1000. More light on this question can be thrown after a close study of the B. O. R. Institute MS. No. *581 of 1899-1915*, which I propose to undertake at some later date.

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[10] Vide my paper on these names contributed to the *Nathuram Premi Commemoration Volume* that is being published by Dr. V. S. Agrawala and other friends.

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